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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

BY

CHARLES ROLLIN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS,

&c. &c. &c.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

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Quid doctae ingenio, quid profint moribus artes,
Viva voce prius, dein calamo expoſui.
Mox veterum adjunxi populorum exempla. Quirites
Dum ſequor, inceptum mors mihi rupit opus.
Omnes religio accendit pietaſque labores.
Quam petii merces ſit mihi magna Deus. D. CREVIER.

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BOOK FOURTEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF

PHILIP.

PLAN.

THE reigns of Philip king of Macedon, and Alexander his ſon, contain the ſpace of thirty-ſix years; the reign of the former including twenty-four, and that of the latter, twelve. They extend from the firſt year of the 105th Olympiad, or the year of the world 3644, to the firſt year of the 114th Olympiad, which anſwers to the year of the world 3680.

The kings who reigned during that time in Perſia, were Artaxerxes Ochus, Arſes, and Darius Codomanus. The Perſian empire expired with the laſt.

We know not any thing concerning the tranſactions of the Jews during theſe thirty-ſix years, except what we are told by Joſephus, Book xi. chap. 7. and 8. of his Antiquities of the Jews, under the high-prieſts John or Johanan, and Jaddus. Theſe will be mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory, with which that of the Jews is intermixed.

The above mentioned ſpace of thirty-ſix years, with reſpect to the Roman hiſtory, extends from the 393d to the 429th year from the foundation of Rome. The great men who made the moſt conſpicuous figure among the Romans during that ſpace of time, were Appius Claudius the dictator, T. Quinctius Capitolinus, Tit. Manlius Torquatus, L. Papirius Curſor, M. Valerius Corvinus, Q. Fabius Maximus, and the two Decii, who devoted themſelves to death for the ſake of their country.

SECTION I.

The BIRTH *and* INFANCY *of* PHILIP. *His firſt* CONQUESTS. *The* BIRTH *of* ALEXANDER.

MACEDON was an hereditary kingdom, ſituated in ancient Thrace, and bounded on the ſouth by the mountains of Theſſaly; on the eaſt by Boeotia and Pieria, on the weſt by the Lynceſtes, and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia. But after Philip had conquered part of Thrace and Illyrium, this

kingdom extended from the Adriatic ſea to the river Strymon. Edeſſa was at firſt the capital of it, but afterwards reſigned that honour to Pella, famous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whoſe hiſtory we are going to write, was the ſon of Amyntas II. who is reckoned the ſixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had founded that kingdom about four hundred and thirty years before, that is, Anno Mundi 3212, and before Chriſt 794. The hiſtory of all theſe monarchs is ſufficiently obſcure, and includes little more than ſeveral wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people.

The kings of Macedon pretended to deſcend from Hercules by Caranus, and conſequently to have been Greeks originally. Notwithſtanding this, Demoſthenes often ſtiles them Barbarians, eſpecially in his invectives againſt Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians. [a] Alexander king of Macedon, in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded upon pretence of his being a Barbarian, from the Olympic games; and was not admitted to ſhare in them, till after having proved his being originally deſcended from Argos. [b] The above mentioned Alexander, when he went over from the Perſian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter that Mardonius was determined to charge them by ſurpriſe at day-break, juſtified his perfidy by his ancient deſcent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The ancient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath themſelves to live at different times under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, changing their alliances as it ſuited their intereſt. Of this we have ſeveral inſtances in Thucydides. One of them, named Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians were diſſatisfied, became their tributary; which continued from their ſettling a colony in Amphipolis, under Agnon the ſon of Nicias, about forty-eight years before the Peloponneſian war, till Braſidas, the Lacedaemonian general, about the fifth or ſixth year of that war, raiſed that whole province againſt them, and drove them from the frontiers of Macedon.

We ſhall ſoon ſee this Macedon, which formerly had paid

[a] Herod. l. v. c. 22. [b] Idem. l. ix. c. 44.

tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the arbiter of Greece; and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Asia.

Amyntas[b], father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the 96th Olympiad. Having, the very year after, been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again, he addressed himself to the Olynthians; and in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of their city. According to some authors, Argaeus, who was of the blood royal, being supported by the Athenians, and taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years[c]. Amyntas was restored to the throne by the Thessalians; upon which he was desirous of resuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the ill situation of his affairs had obliged him to resign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head singly against so powerful a people, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, sent him succours, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and impending ruin. [d] It was then that Amyntas, in an assembly of the Greeks, to which he had sent a deputation, engaged to unite with them to enable the Athenians to possess themselves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last mentioned people. This strong alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall soon see.

[c] Philip, one of the sons of Amyntas, was born the same year this monarch declared war against the Olynthians. This Philip was father of Alexander the Great; for we cannot distinguish him better, than by calling him the father of such a son, as * Cicero observes of the father of Cato of Utica.

[b] A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398. Diod. l. xiv. p. 307, 341.
[c] A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.
[d] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 400. [e] A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383.

* M. Cato sententiam dixit hujus nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim caeteri ex patribus, sic hic, qui lumen illud progenuit, ex filio est nominandus. De Offic. l. iii. n. 66.

[e] Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eurydice had brought him, viz. Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural ſon named Ptolemy.

Alexander ſucceeded his father as eldeſt ſon. In the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a ſharp war againſt the Illyrians, neighbours to and perpetual enemies of Macedonia. Concluding afterwards a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger brother, an infant, into their hands, by way of hoſtage, who was ſoon ſent back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

[f] The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas, his brother, who was become eldeſt by his death; but Pauſanias, a prince of the blood royal, who had been exiled, diſputed it with him, and was ſupported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by ſeizing ſome fortreſſes. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, whether the Athenians had ſent him with a ſmall fleet; not to beſiege Amphipolis as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make the neceſſary preparations for beſieging it. Eurydice hearing of his arrival, deſired to ſee him, intending to requeſt his aſſiſtance againſt Pauſanias. When he was come into the palace, and had ſeated himſelf, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compaſſion, taxes her two children, Perdiccas and Philip *, and ſets the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees of Iphicrates; ſhe then ſpoke thus to him: "Remember, Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father of theſe "unhappy orphans, had always a love for your country, and "adopted you for his ſon. This double tie lays you under a "double obligation. The amity which that king entertained "for Athens, requires that you ſhould acknowledge us pub-"licly for your friends; and the tenderneſs which that father "had for your perſon, claims from you the heart of a bro-"ther to theſe children." Iphicrates, moved with this ſight,

[e] A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 375. Diod. p. 373. Juſtin. l. vii. c. 4.
[f] A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Æſch. de Falſ. Legat. p. 399, 400.

* Philip was not then leſs than nine years old.

and diſcourſe, expelled the uſurper, and reſtored the lawful ſovereign.

[g] Perdiccas † did not long continue in tranquillity. A new enemy, more formidable than the firſt, ſoon invaded his repoſe: This was Ptolomy his brother, natural ſon of Amyntas, as was before obſerved. He might poſſibly be the eldeſt ſon, and claim the crown as ſuch. The two brothers referred the deciſion of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it neceſſary to take pledges on both ſides, in order to oblige the two competitors to obſerve the articles of the treaty accepted by them, among other hoſtages, he carried Philip with him to ‡ Thebes, where he reſided ſeveral years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this much-loved ſon, earneſtly beſought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hoſtage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philoſopher in his houſe for the education of his ſon. Philip improved greatly by the inſtructions of his preceptor, and much more by thoſe of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made ſome campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not poſſibly have had a more excellent maſter, whether for war, or the conduct of life; for this illuſtrious Theban was at the ſame time a great philoſopher, that is to ſay, a wiſe and virtuous man, and a great commander, as well as a great ſtateſman. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and propoſed him as a model to himſelf; moſt happy, could he have copied him perfectly! Perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war,

A iij

[g] Plutarch. in Pelop. p. 292.

† Plutarch ſuppoſes, that it was with Alexander that Ptolomy diſputed the empire, which cannot be made to agree with the relation of Æſchines, who, being his contemporary, is more worthy of credit. I therefore thought proper to ſubſtitute Perdiccas inſtead of Alexander.

‡ Thebis triennio obſes habitus, prima pueritiae rudimenta in urbe ſeveritatis antiquae, et in domo Epaminondae ſummi et philoſophi et imperatoris depoſuit Juſtin. l. vii. c. 5. Philip lived in Thebes, not only three, but nine or ten years.

and his promptitude in improving occaſions, which however formed but a very inconſiderable part of the merit of this illuſtrious perſonage: But with regard to his temperance, his juſtice, his diſintereſtedneſs, his ſincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, theſe were virtues which Phillip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the moſt dangerous enemy of Greece. [h] After Philip had ſpent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him reſolve to leave Thebes clandeſtinely. Accordingly, he ſteals away, makes the utmoſt expedition, and finds the Macedonians greatly ſurpriſed at having loſt their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians; but much more ſo, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force; the Peonians infeſted it with perpetual incurſions; the Thracians were determined to place Pauſanias on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretenſions; and the Athenians were bringing Argaeus, whom Mantias their general was ordered to ſupport with a ſtrong fleet and a conſiderable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had only a child, Amyntas, the ſon of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for ſome time, by the title of Guardian to the Prince; but the ſubjects, juſtly alarmed, depoſed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and inſtead of the heir whom nature had given them, ſet him upon the throne whom the preſent conjuncture of affairs required; perſuaded that the laws of neceſſity are ſuperior to all others. [i] Accordingly Philip, at twenty-four years of age, aſcended the throne the firſt year of the 105th Olympiad.

The new king, with great coolneſs and preſence of mind, uſed all his endeavours to anſwer the expectations of the people: Accordingly he provides for and remedies every thing,

[h] Diod. l. xvi. p. 407. Juſtin. l. vii. c. 5.

[i] A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. Died. l. xvi. p. 404—413

revives the deſponding courage of the Macedonians, and reinſtates and diſciplines the army. [k] He was inflexibly rigid in the laſt point, well knowing that the ſucceſs of all his enterpriſes depended on it. A ſoldier, who was thirſty, went out of the ranks to drink, which Philip puniſhed with great ſeverity. Another ſoldier, who ought to have ſtood to his arms, laid them down: Him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time he eſtabliſhed the Macedonian phalanx, which afterwards became ſo famous, and was the choiceſt and the beſt diſciplined body of an army the world had ever ſeen, and might diſpute precedency in thoſe reſpects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamis. He drew up the plan, or at leaſt improved it from the idea ſuggeſted by Homer [l]. That poet deſcribes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the ſoldiers of which, by the aſſemblage or conjunction of their ſhields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the leſſons of Epaminondas, and the ſacred battalion of the Thebans. He treated thoſe choſen foot-ſoldiers with peculiar diſtinction, honoured them with the title of his Comrades or Companions*; and by ſuch marks of honour and confidence, induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the hardeſt fatigues, and to confront the greateſt dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as theſe coſt a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him. I ſhall inſert, at the end of this ſection, a more particular deſcription of the phalanx, and the uſe made of it in battles. I ſhall borrow from Polybius this deſcription, the length of which would too much interrupt the ſeries of our hiſtory; yet being placed ſeparately, may probably pleaſe, eſpecially by the judicious reflections of a man ſo well ſkilled in the art of war as that hiſtorian.

One of the firſt things Philip took care of, was, the negotiating a captious peace with the Athenians, whoſe power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies.

[k] Aelian. l. xiv. c. 49. [l] Iliad, N. v. 130.

* Ἑταῖροι ſignifies, verbatim, a foot-ſoldier, comrade, companion.

in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill eſtabliſhed. He therefore ſends ambaſſadors to Athens, ſpares neither promiſes nor proteſtations of amity, and at laſt was ſo happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantages he had propoſed to himſelf.

Immediately after this, he does not ſeem ſo much to act like a monarch of but twenty-four years of age, as like a politician profoundly verſed in the art of diſſimulation; and who, without the aſſiſtance of experience, was already ſenſible, that to know when to loſe at a proper ſeaſon is to gain. [m] He had ſeized upon Amphipolis, a city ſituated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which conſequently ſtood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much, not to mention that the Athenians, whoſe friendſhip it was his intereſt to preſerve, would have been exaſperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other ſide, he was determined not to give up to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the reſolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themſelves as a republic, and in this manner to ſet them at variance with their ancient maſters. At the ſame time he diſarmed the Peonians by dint of promiſes and preſents; reſolving to attack them, after he had diſunited his enemies, and weakened them by that diſunion.

This addreſs and ſubtilty eſtabliſhed him more firmly on the throne, and he ſoon found himſelf without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Pauſanias, he marches againſt Argaeus, comes up with him in the road from Aegae to Methone, defeats him, kills a great number of his ſoldiers, and takes a multitude priſoners; attacks the Peonians, and ſubjects them to his power: He afterwards turns his arms againſt the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and obliges them to reſtore to him all the places poſſeſſed by them in Macedonia.

[n] Much about this time the Athenians acted with the greateſt generoſity in regard to the inhabitants of Euboea. That iſland, which is ſeparated from Boeotia by the Euripus, was ſo called from its large and beautiful paſture lands, and is now called

[m] Polyaen. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17. [n] A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

Negropont. [o] It had been ſubject to the Athenians, who had ſettled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates, that in the Peloponneſian war, the revolt of the Euboeans diſmayed the Athenians very much, becauſe they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Euboea became a prey to factions; and at the time of which we are now ſpeaking, one of theſe factions implored the aſſiſtance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At firſt the Thebans met with no obſtacle, and eaſily made the faction they eſpouſed triumphant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians, matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Euboeans, who had behaved very injuriouſly towards them, nevertheleſs, ſenſibly affected with the great danger to which they were expoſed, and forgetting their private reſentments, they immediately gave them ſuch powerful ſuccour both by ſea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now, being abſolute maſters of the iſland, they reſtore the inhabitants their cities and liberty, perſuaded, ſays † Aeſchines, in relating this circumſtance, that juſtice requires we ſhould obliterate the remembrance of paſt injuries, when the party offending repoſe their truſt in the offended. The Athenians, after having reſtored Euboea to its former tranquillity, rettred, without deſiring any other benefit for all their ſervices, than the glory of having appeaſed the troubles of that iſland.

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard to other ſtates; and it was this gave riſe to "[p] the war of the "allies," of which I have ſpoken elſewhere.

Hitherto Philip, that is, during the firſt years of his reign, had employed his endeavours to triumph over his competitors for the throne; to pacify domeſtic diviſions, to repel the attacks of his foreign enemies, and to diſable them by his frequent victories, from troubling him in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom.

But he is now going to appear in another character. Sparta

[o] Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 4. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 613. Demoſt. pro Ctesiph. p. 489. Aeſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 441. [p] A. M. 3646.

† Οὐχ ἡγούμενοι δίκαιον εἶναι τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπομνημονεύειν ἐν τῷ πίστευθῆναι.

and Athens, after having long diſputed the empire of Greece, had weakened themſelves by their reciprocal diviſions. This circumſtance had given Thebes an opportunity of regaining its former grandeur; but Thebes having weakened itſelf by the wars in which it had been engaged againſt Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occaſion of aſpiring alſo in his turn to the ſovereignty of Greece. And now, as a politician and a conqueror, he revolves how he may beſt extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken thoſe whom he was not able to conquer at preſent; how he may introduce himſelf into the affairs of Greece, ſhare in its inteſtine feuds, make himſelf its arbiter, join with one ſide to deſtroy the other; in a word, to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great deſign, he ſpared neither artifices, open force, preſents, nor promiſes. He employs for this purpoſe negotiations, treaties, and alliances, and each of them, ſingly, in ſuch a manner as he judges moſt conducive to the ſucceſs of his deſign; advantage ſolely determining him in the choice of meaſures.

We ſhall always ſee him acting under this ſecond character, in all the ſteps he takes henceforth, till he aſſumes a third and laſt character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Perſia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by ſubverting an empire which before had attempted to ſubject it, and which had always continued its irreconcileable enemy, either by open invaſions or ſecret intrigues.

We have ſeen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had ſeized upon Amphipolis, becauſe well ſituated for his views; but that to avoid reſtoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under ſuch great apprehenſion from the Athenians, he reſumed his former deſign of ſeizing Amphipolis. [o] The inhabitants of this city being threatened with a ſpeedy ſiege, ſent ambaſſadors to the Athenians, offering to put themſelves and their city under the protection of Athens, and beſeeching them to accept the keys of Amphipolis. But that republic rejected their offer, for fear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preceding year with Philip. [p] How-

[o] Demoſth. Olynth. i. p. 2. [p] A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 368. Diod. p. 412.

ever, this monarch was not ſo delicate in this point; for he beſieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made it one of the ſtrongeſt barriers of his kingdom. Demoſthenes, in his Orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occaſion, by repreſenting to them, that, had they acted at this time with the expedition they ought, they would have ſaved a confederate city, and ſpared themſelves a multitude of misfortunes.

[q] Philip had promiſed the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this promiſe had made them ſupine and inactive; but he did not value himſelf upon keeping his word; and ſincerity was in no manner the virtue he profeſſed. So far from ſurrendering this city, he alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of Pydna,* and of Potidaea †. The Athenians kept a garriſon in the latter; theſe he diſmiſſed without doing them the leaſt injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to engage them in his intereſt.

[r] From thence he proceeded to ſeize Crenides, which the Thaſians had built two years before, and which he called Philippi from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous from the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thouſand talents, that is, about an hundred and forty-four thouſand pounds Sterling; a prodigious ſum of money in that age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before; and Philip firſt cauſed the golden ſpecies to be coined there, with outlived ‡ monarchy. Superio-

[q] Diod. p. 412. [r] Ibid. p. 413.

* Pydna, a city of Macedon, ſituated on the gulph anciently called Sinus Thermaicus, and now Golfo di Salonichi.

† Potidaea, another city of Macedonia, on the borders of ancient Thrace. It was but ſixty ſtadia, or three leagues, from Olynthus.

‡ Gratus Alexandro Regi magno fuit ille.
Choerilus, incultis qui verſibus et male natis
Retulit acceptos, regale numiſma, Philippos.
HORAT. l. ii. Ep. ad Auguſt.

Cherilus the Pelean youth approv'd,
Him he rewarded well, and him he lov'd;
He dull uneven verſe, by a great good fate,
Got him his favour, and a fair eſtate.
CREECH's HOR.

rity of finances is of endless advantage to a state; and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. By this fund, he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece.

[s] Demosthenes says, that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, "gold and silver were ranked in the number "of prohibited arms." But Philip thought, spoke, and acted in a quite different manner. [t] It is said, that consulting the oracle of Delphos, he received the following answer:

Ἀργυρίοις λόγχαισι μάχου, καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις.
Make coin thy weapons, and thou'lt conquer all.

The advice of the priestess became his rule; and he applied it with great success. He owned, that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate, till after having attempted to open it with a golden key; and that he did not think any fortress impregnable, into which a mule laden with silver could find entrance. *It has been said, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece; and that he bought its cities rather than took them. He had pensioners in all the commonwealth of Greece, and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the public affairs. And indeed he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negotiation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his soldiers could share in the honour of the latter.

[s] Philip. iii. p. 92. [t] Suidas.

Hic sunt numerati aurei trecenti nummi, qui vocantur Philippi.
PLAUT. in POEN.

* Callidus emptor Olynthi.
JUV. Sat. xii. l. 47.

Philippus majore ex parte mercatore Graeciae, quam victor.
VAL. MAX. lib. vii. c. 2.

———Diffidit hostium
Portas vir Macedo, et subruit, aemulos.
Reges muneribus.
HORAT. lib. iii. Od. xvi.

When engines, and when arts do fail,
The golden wedge can cleave the wall;
Gold Philip's rival-kings o'erthrew.
CREECH'S HOR.

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptelemus. The latter was ſon of Alcetas, king of Moloſſus or Epirus. Olympias brought him Alexander, ſurnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the firſt year of the 106th Olympiad, [u] Philip, who at that time was abſent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable * advices brought him; that he had carried the prize in the Olympic games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a ſon. This prince, terrified at ſo ſignal a happineſs, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of ſome mournful cataſtrophe, cried out, "Great Jupiter, in return for ſo many bleſ-" ſings, ſend me as ſoon as poſſible ſome ſlight misfortune."

[x] We may form a judgment of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince, by the letter he wrote a little after his birth to Ariſtotle, to acquaint him ſo early, that he had made choice of him for his ſon's preceptor. "I am to inform you," ſaid he, "that I have a ſon born. I " return thanks to the gods, not ſo much for having given " him to me, as to have given him me in the time that Ariſ-" totle lived. I may juſtly promiſe myſelf, that you will make " him a ſucceſſor worthy of us both, and a king worthy of Ma-" cedonia." What noble thoughts ariſe from the peruſal of this letter, far different from the manners of the preſent age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I ſhall leave the reader to make ſuch reflections on it as he ſhall think proper, and ſhall only obſerve, that this example may ſerve as a leſſon even to private perſons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good maſter, and the extraordinary care they ſhould take to find ſuch an one; † for every ſon is an Alexander to his father. It appears that Philip ‡ put his ſon

[u] A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 16. Plut. in Apophth. p. 187.

[x] Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 3.

* Plutarch ſuppoſes that this news was brought him immediately after the taking of Potidaea; but this city had been taken two years before.

† Fingamus Alexandrum dari nobis, impoſitum gremio, dignum tanta cura infantem: (quanquam ſuus cuique dignus eſt.) Quintil. l. i. c. 1.

‡ An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio ſuo prima literarum elementa.

very early under Ariſtotle, convinced that the ſucceſs of ſtudies depends on the foundation firſt laid; and that the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner they ought to be inculcated.

A DESCRIPTION of the MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

[y] THIS * was a body of infantry, conſiſting of ſixteen thouſand heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in the centre of the battle. Beſides a ſword, they were armed with a ſhield and a pike or ſpear, called by the Greeks ΣΑΡΙΣΣΑ, Sariſſa. This pike was fourteen cubits long, that is, twenty-one French feet, for the cubit conſiſts of a foot and a half.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten corps or battalions, each of which was compoſed of ſixteen hundred men, an hundred feet in rank, and ſixteen in file. Sometimes the file of ſixteen was doubled, and ſometimes divided according to occaſion; ſo that the phalanx was ſometimes but eight, and at other times thirty-two deep: But its uſual and regular depth was of ſixteen.

The ſpace between each ſoldier upon a march was ſix feet, or, which is the ſame, four cubits; and the ranks were alſo about ſix feet aſunder. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three feet diſtance between each ſoldier, and the ranks were cloſed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who compoſed it drew ſtill cloſer, each ſoldier occupying only the ſpace of a foot and a half.

This evidently ſhews the different ſpace which the front of the phalanx took up in theſe three caſes, ſuppoſing the whole to conſiſt of ſixteen thouſand men, at ſixteen deep, and conſequently always a thouſand men in front. This ſpace or diſtance in the firſt caſe was ſix thouſand feet, or one thouſand

[y] Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764—767. Id. l. xii. p. 664. Ælian. de Inſtruend. Acieb.

tradi ab Ariſtotele ſummo ejus ætatis philoſopho voluiſſet, aut illè ſuſcepiſſet hoc officium, ſi non ſtudiorum initia a perfectiſſimo quoque optime tractari, pertinere ad ſummam credidiſſet? Quintil. ibid.

* Decem et ſex millia peditum more Macedonum armati fuere, qui phalangitae appellabantur. Haec media acies fuit in fronte, in decem partes diviſa. Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40.

fathoms, which make ten furlongs, or half a league. In the ſecond caſe it was but half as much, and took up five furlongs, or five hundred fathoms *. And, in the third caſe, it was again diminiſhed another half, and extended to the diſtance of only two furlongs and a half, or two hundred and fifty fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the ſecond caſe, in which it marched to attack the enemy. There then was three feet in breadth and depth between each ſoldier. We obſerved above, that their pikes were fourteen cubits long; the ſpace between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four; and conſequently the pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the ſoldier who carried it. This being ſuppoſed, the pikes of the ſoldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths, and ſo of the reſt, projected two cubits beyond the firſt rank; the pikes of the fourths four; thoſe of the thirds ſix; thoſe of the ſeconds eight cubits; in fine, the pikes of the ſoldiers who formed the firſt rank, advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

The reader will eaſily conceive, that when the ſoldiers who compoſed the phalanx, this great and unwieldy machine, every part of which briſtled with pikes, as we have ſeen, moved all at once, preſenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they muſt charge with great force. The ſoldiers, who were behind the fifth rank, held their pikes raiſed, but reclining a little over the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of a roof, which, not to mention their ſhields, ſecured them from darts diſcharged at a diſtance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The ſoldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage againſt the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great aſſiſtance in battle to thoſe in front of them: For by ſupporting them behind with the utmoſt ſtrength, and propping them with their backs, they increaſed in a prodigious manner the ſtrength and impetuoſity of the onſet; they gave their comrades ſuch a force as rendered them immoveable in attacks, and at the ſame time

* Five ſtadia.

deprived them of every hope or opportunity of flight by the rear; so that they were under the neceſſity either to conquer or die.

And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long as the ſoldiers of the phalanx preſerved their diſpoſition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the cloſe order we have deſcribed, it was impoſſible for an enemy either to ſuſtain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonſtrates to us in a plain and ſenſible manner. The Roman ſoldiers, for it is thoſe he compares to the Greeks in the place in queſtion, ſays he, take up in fight three feet each. And as they muſt neceſſarily move about very much, either to ſhift their bucklers to the right and left, in defending themſelves, or to thruſt with the point, or ſtrike with the edge, we muſt be obliged to ſuppoſe the diſtance of three feet between every ſoldier. In this every Roman ſoldier takes up ſix feet, that is, twice as much diſtance as one of the * phalanx, and conſequently oppoſes ſingly two ſoldiers of the firſt rank; and for the ſame reaſon, is obliged to make head againſt ten pikes, as we before obſerved. Now, it is impoſſible for a ſingle ſoldier to break, or force his way through ten pikes.

[z] This Livy ſhews evidently in a few words, where he deſcribes in what manner the Romans were repulſed by the Macedonians at the ſiege of a city. † The conſul, ſays he, made his cohorts to advance, in order, if poſſible, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very cloſe together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the Romans having diſcharged ineffectually their javelins againſt the Mace-

[z] Liv. l. xxxii n. 17.

* It was before ſaid, that each ſoldier of the phalanx took up three feet when he advanced to attack the enemy, and but half as much when he waited his coming up. In this laſt caſe, each Roman ſoldier was obliged to make head againſt twenty pikes.

† Cohortes invicem ſub ſignis, quae cuneum Macedonum (phalangem ipſi vocant) ſi poſſent, vi perrumperent, emittebat—Ubi conferti haſtas ingentis longitudinis prae ſe Macedones objeciſſent, velut in conſtructam denſitate clypeorum teſtudinem Romani, pilis nequicquam emiſſis, cum ſtrinxiſſent gladios; neque congredi propius neque praecedere haſtas poterant; et, ſi quam incidiſſent aut praefregiſſent, haſtile fragmento ipſo acuto, inter ſpicula integrarum haſtarum, velut vallum explebat.

donians, whom their ſhields, preſſed very cloſe together, covered like a roof and a tortoiſe; the Romans, I ſay, drew their ſwords. But it was not poſſible for them either to come to a cloſe engagement, or cut or break the pikes of the enemy; and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, the broken piece of the pike ſerved as a point; ſo that this range of pikes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, ſtill exiſted.

[a] Paulus Æmilius owned, that in the battle with Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedon, this rampart of braſs, and foreſt of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terror and aſtoniſhment. He did not remember, he ſaid, any thing ſo formidable as this phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful ſpectacle had made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon him, as almoſt made him deſpair of the victory.

From what has been ſaid above, it follows, that the Macedonian phalanx was invincible; nevertheleſs, we find by hiſtory, that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquiſhed and ſubdued by the Romans. It was invincible, replied Polybius, ſo long as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very rarely; for in order to its being ſo, it required a flat even ſpot of ground of large extent, without either tree, buſh, intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill, or river. Now, we ſeldom find a ſpot of ground, of fifteen, twenty, or more furlongs * in extent; for ſo large a ſpace is neceſſary for containing a whole army, of which the phalanx is but a part.

But let us ſuppoſe (it is Polybius who ſtill ſpeaks) that a tract of ground, ſuch as could be wiſhed, were found; yet of what uſe could a body of troops drawn up in the form of a phalanx be, ſhould the enemy, inſtead of advancing forward and offering battle, ſend out detachments to lay waſte the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? That in caſe the enemy ſhould come to a battle, the general need only command part of his front, the centre for inſtance, to give way and fly, that the phalanx may have an opportunity of purſuing them. In this caſe, it is manifeſt the phalanx would

[a] Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265.

* Three quarters of a league, or a league, or perhaps more.

be broke, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the ſame time that thoſe ſoldiers, who are purſuing the enemy, may be attacked in the ſame manner.

This reaſoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the ſame time gives us a very juſt idea of the manner in which the ancients fought; which certainly ought to have its place in hiſtory, as it is an eſſential part of it.

Hence appears, as Mr. Boſſuet [b] obſerves after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian * phalanx formed of one large body, very thick on all ſides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army divided into ſmall bodies, which for that reaſon were nimbler, and conſequently more aptly diſpoſed for motions of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preſerve its natural property; theſe are Polybius's words; that is to ſay, its ſolidity and thickneſs, becauſe it requires its peculiar ſpots of ground, and thoſe, as it were, made purpoſely for it; and that for want of ſuch tracts, it incumbers, or rather breaks itſelf by its own motion; not to mention, that, if it is once broke, the ſoldiers who compoſe it can never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its diviſion into ſmall bodies, takes advantage of all places and ſituations, and ſuits itſelf to them. It is united or ſeparated at pleaſure. It files off, or draws together, without the leaſt difficulty. It can very eaſily detach, rally, and form every kind of evolution, either in whole or in part, as occaſion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and conſequently more activity and ſtrength than the phalanx.

[c] This enabled Paulus Æmilius † to gain his celebrated vic-

[b] Diſcourſe on Univerſal Hiſtory.

[c] Plutarch. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. xliv. n. 41.

* Statarius uterque miles, ordines ſervans; ſed illa phalanx immobilis, et unius generis: Romana acies diſtinctior, ex pluribus partibus conſtans; facilis partienti quacunque opus eſſet, facilis jungenti. Tit. Liv. l. ix. n. 19.

Erant pleraque ſylveſtria circa, incommoda phalangi, maxime Macedonum, quae, niſi ubi praelongis haſtis velut vallum ante clypeos objecit, quod ut fiat, libero campo opus eſt, nullius admodum uſus eſt. Id. l. xxxi. n. 39.

† Secunda legio immiſſa diſſipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior cauſa victoriae fuit, quam quod multa paſſim praelia erant, quae fluctuantem turbarunt primo, deinde disjecerunt phalangem; cujus confertae, et intentis horrentis haſtis,

tory over Perſeus. He firſt attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians, keeping very cloſe together, holding their pikes with both hands, and preſenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broke or forced in any manner, and ſo made a dreadful ſlaughter of the Romans. But at laſt, the unevenneſs of the ground, and the great extent of the front in battle, not allowing the Macedonians to continue in all parts that range of ſhields and pikes, Paulus Æmilius obſerved, that the phalanx was obliged to leave ſeveral openings and intervals. Upon this he attacked them at theſe openings, not as before, in front, and in a general onſet, but by detached bodies, and in different parts, at one and the ſame time. By this means the phalanx was broke in an inſtant, and its whole force, which conſiſted merely in its union, and the impreſſion it made all at once, was entirely loſt, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

[d] The ſame Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, deſcribes in few words the order of battle obſerved by the cavalry. According to him, a ſquadron of horſe conſiſted of eight hundred, generally drawn up one hundred in front, and eight deep; conſequently ſuch a ſquadron as this took up a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, ſuppoſing the diſtance of one fathom or ſix feet for each horſeman; a ſpace he muſt neceſſarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten ſquadrons, or eight thouſand horſe occupied ten times as much ground, that is, ten furlongs, or a thouſand fathoms, which makes about half a league.

From what has been ſaid, the reader may judge how much ground an army took up according to the number of infantry and cavalry of which it conſiſted.

d Lib. xii. p. 633.

intolerabiles vires ſunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate haſtam cogas, confuſa ſtruc implicantur: ſi vero ab latere, aut ab tergo, aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinae modo turbantur. Sicut tum adverſus catervatim irruentes Romanos, et interrupta multifariam acie, obviam ire cogebantur: et Romani, quacumque data intervalla eſſent, inſinuabant ordines ſuos. Qui ſi univerſa acie in frontem adverſus inſtructam phalangem concurriſſent—induiſſent ſe haſtis, nec confertam aciem ſuſtinuiſſent. Tit. Liv.

SECTION II.

The SACRED WAR. *SEQUEL of the* HISTORY *of* PHILIP.

DISCORD[e], which fomented perpetually in the Greeks diſpoſitions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocaeans. Theſe people, who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphos, ploughed up certain lands that were ſacred to Apollo, which were thereby profaned. Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed againſt them, as guilty of ſacrilege, ſome from a ſpirit of ſincerity, and others in order to cover their private revenge with the veil of religion. The war that broke out on this occaſion was called the Sacred War, as undertaken from a religious motive, and laſted ten years. The people guilty of this profanation were ſummoned to appear before the Amphyctions, or ſtates general of Greece; and the whole affair being duly examined, the Phocaeans were declared ſacrilegious, and ſentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man, and of great authority, having proved by ſome verſes in [f] Homer, that the ſovereignty of Delphos belonged anciently to the Phocaeans, inflames them againſt this decree, determines with them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately went to Sparta, to engage the Lacedaemonians in his intereſt. They were very much diſguſted at the ſentence which the Amphyctions had pronounced againſt them, at the ſolicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been alſo condemned to pay a fine, for having ſeized upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handſome reception. This monarch, however, did not dare to declare openly in favour of the Phocaeans, but promiſed to aſſiſt him with money, and to furniſh him ſecretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his return home, raiſes ſoldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphos, of which he poſſeſſed

[e] A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355. Diod. l. xvi. p. 425—433.
[f] Iliad. l. ii. v. 516.

himſelf without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak reſiſtance. The * Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphos, took arms againſt him, but were defeated in ſeveral rencounters. Philomelus, encouraged by theſe firſt ſucceſſes, increaſed his troops daily, and put himſelf in a condition to carry on his enterpriſe with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphyctions againſt the Phocaeans, publiſhes all over the country, that he has no deſign to ſeize the riches of the temple, and that his ſole view is to reſtore the Phocaeans their ancient rights and privileges. It was neceſſary for him to have a ſanction from the god who preſided at Delphos, and to receive ſuch an anſwer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The prieſteſs at firſt refuſed to co-operate on this occaſion; but, being terrified by his menaces, ſhe anſwered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he ſhould think proper; a circumſtance he took care to publiſh to all the neighbouring nations.

The affair was now become a ſerious one. The Amphyctions meeting a ſecond time, a reſolution was formed to declare war againſt the Phocaeans. Moſt of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and ſided with the one or the other party. The Boeotians, the Locrians, the Theſſalians, and ſeveral other neighbouring people, declared in favour of the god; whilſt Sparta, Athens, and ſome other cities of Peloponneſus, joined with the Phocaeans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treaſures of the temple; but being afterwards not ſo ſcrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed, than in his (the deity's) defence, for he gave this ſpecious name to this ſacrilegious attempt; and being enabled, by this freſh ſupply, to double the pay of his ſoldiers, he raiſed a very conſiderable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the ſucceſs for ſome time ſeemed doubtful on both ſides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious lengths which a falſe zeal, when veiled with ſo honourable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken ſeveral

* Or Locri.

priſoners, condemned them all to die as ſacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated. The Phocaeans did the ſame by way of repriſal. Theſe had at firſt gained ſeveral advantages; but having been defeated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader, being cloſely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, defended himſelf for a long time with invincible bravery, which however not availing, he threw himſelf headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he muſt unavoidably have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus was his ſucceſſor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

[f] This new general had ſoon levied a freſh army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him ſoldiers from all ſides. He alſo by dint of money brought over ſeveral chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to do little or nothing, by which he gained great advantages.

Philip thought it moſt conſiſtent with his intereſt to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks in favour either of the Phocaeans or of the Thebans. It was conſiſtent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the intereſt of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the leaſt benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and puſh his conqueſts without any apprehenſion of oppoſition. He was alſo well pleaſed to ſee both parties weaken and conſume each other, as he ſhould thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater advantage.

[g] Being deſirous of ſubjecting Thrace, and of ſecuring the conqueſts he had already made in it, he determined to poſſeſs himſelf of Methone, a ſmall city, incapable of ſupporting itſelf by its own ſtrength, but which gave him diſquiet, and obſtructed his deſigns whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he beſieged that city, made himſelf maſter of, and

[f] A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.
[g] A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 352. Diod. p. 434.

razed it. [h] He loſt one of his eyes before Methone, by a very ſingular accident. After of Amphipolis had offered his ſervice to Philip, as ſo excellent a markſman, that he could bring down birds in their moſt rapid flight. The monarch made this anſwer, "Well, I will take you into my ſervice when I make "war upon ſtarlings;" which anſwer ſtung the croſs-bowman to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal conſequence to him who makes it; and it is not a ſmall merit to know when to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himſelf into the city, he let fly an arrow, on which was written, "To Philip's "right eye," and gave him a moſt cruel proof that he was a good markſman;" for he hit him in his right eye. Philip ſent him back the ſame arrow, with this inſcription, "If Philip "takes the city, he will hang up Aſter;" and accordingly he was as good as his word.

[i] A ſkilful ſurgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with ſo much art and dexterity, that not the leaſt ſcar remained; and though he could not ſave his eye, yet he took away the blemiſh. [k] But nevertheleſs this monarch was ſo weak, as to be angry whenever any perſon happened to let ſlip the word Cyclops, or even the word Eye, in his preſence. Men, however, ſeldom bluſh for an honourable imperfection. A Lacedaemonian woman thought more like a man, when, to conſole her ſon for a glorious wound that had lamed him, ſhe ſaid, "Now, "ſon, every ſtep you take will put you in mind of your va-"lour."

[l] After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever ſtudious either to weaken his enemies by new conqueſts, or gain new friends by doing them ſome important ſervice, marched into Theſſaly, which had implored his aſſiſtance againſt the tyrants. The liberty of that country ſeemed now ſecure, ſince Alexander of Pherae was no more. Nevertheleſs, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebé, had murdered him, grown weary of having ſome time acted the part of deliverers, revived his

[h] Suidas in Κεφαν.
[i] Plin. l. vii. c. 37.
[k] Demet. Phaler. de Elocut. c. iii.
[l] Diod. p. 432—435.

tyranny, and oppreſſed the Theſſalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldeſt of the three brothers who ucceeded Alexander, had ſtrengthened himſelf by the protection of the Phocaeans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at firſt gained a conſiderable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a ſecond time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying troops were purſued to the ſea-ſhore. Upwards of ſix thouſand men were killed on the ſpot, among whom was Onomarchus, whoſe body was hung upon a gallows; and three thouſand who were taken priſoners, were thrown into the ſea by Philip's order, as ſo many ſacrilegious wretches, the profeſſed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pherae, and reſtored Theſſaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy ſucceſs of this expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Theſſalians, whoſe excellent cavalry, joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards ſo great a ſhare in his victories and thoſe of his ſon.

Phayllus, who ſucceeded his brother Onomarchus, finding the ſame advantages he had done, from the immenſe riches he found in the temple, raiſed a numerous army; and, ſupported by the troops of the Lacedaemonians, Athenians, and the other allies, whom he paid very largely, he went into Boeotia and invaded the Thebans. For a long time victory ſhifted ſides; but at laſt, Phayllus being attacked with a ſudden and violent diſtemper, after ſuffering the moſt cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and ſacrilegious actions. Phalecus, then very young, the ſon of Onomarchus, was placed in his room; and Mnaſeas, a man of great experience, and ſtrongly attached to his family, was appointed his counſellor.

The new leader, treading in the ſteps of his predeceſſors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched all his friends. At laſt the Phocaeans opened their eyes, and appointed commiſſioners to call all thoſe to account who had any concern in the public monies. Upon this Phalecus was depoſed; and, after an exact inquiry, it was found, that from the

beginning of the war there had been taken out of the temple upwards of ten thouſand talents, that is, about one million five hundred thouſand pounds.

[m] Philip, after having freed the Theſſalians, reſolved to carry his army into Phocis. This is his firſt attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a ſhare in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis in order to puniſh the ſacrilegious Phocaeans, he marches towards Thermopylae, to poſſeſs himſelf of a paſs, which gave him a free paſſage into Greece, and eſpecially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the moſt fatal conſequences to them, haſtened to Thermopylae, and poſſeſſed themſelves very ſeaſonably of this important paſs, which Philip did not dare attempt to force; ſo that he was obliged to return back into Macedonia.

SECTION III.

DEMOSTHENES harangues the ATHENIANS againſt PHILIP. That PRINCE takes OLYNTHUS.

As we ſhall ſoon ſee Philip engaged againſt the Athenians; and as they, by the ſtrong exhortations and prudent counſels of Demoſthenes, will become his greateſt enemies, and the moſt powerful oppoſers of his ambitious deſigns; it may not be improper, before we enter into that part of the hiſtory, to give a ſhort account of the ſtate of Athens, and of the diſpoſition of the citizens at that time.

We muſt not form a judgment of the character of the Athenians, in the age we are now ſpeaking of, from that of their anceſtors, in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamis, from whoſe virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the ſame men, and had no longer the ſame maxims, and the ſame manners. They no longer diſcovered the ſame zeal for the public good; the ſame application to the affairs of the ſtate; the ſame courage to ſupport the fatigues of war by ſea and land; the ſame care of the revenues; the ſame

[m] A. M. 3652. Ant. J. C. 352.

willingneſs to hear ſalutary advice; the ſame diſcernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of magiſtrates to whom they intruſted the adminiſtration of the ſtate. To theſe happy, theſe glorious diſpoſitions, ſucceeded a fondneſs for repoſe, and an indolence with regard to public affairs; an averſion for military fatigues, which they now left entirely to mercenary troops; and a profuſion of the public treaſures in games and ſhews; a love for the flattery which their orators laviſhed upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring public offices by intrigue and cabal; all which uſually precede the approaching ruin of ſtates. Such was the ſituation of Athens at the time the king of Macedon began to turn his arms againſt Greece.

We have ſeen that Philip, after various conqueſts, had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; becauſe the Athenians, juſtly alarmed at the impending danger, had ſtopped him at the paſs of Thermopylae. [n] Demoſthenes, taking advantage of ſo favourable a diſpoſition of things, mounted the tribunal, in order to ſet before them a lively image of the impending danger to which they were expoſed by the boundleſs ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the abſolute neceſſity they were under, from hence, to apply the moſt ſpeedy remedies. Now, as the ſucceſs of his arms, and the rapidity of his progreſs, ſpread throughout Athens a kind of terror bordering very near upon deſpair; the orator, by a wonderful artifice, firſt endeavours to revive their courage, and aſcribes their calamities to their ſloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themſelves of their duty, and that in ſpite of their activity, and their utmoſt efforts, Philip had prevailed over them; they then, indeed, would not have the leaſt reſource or hope left. But in this oration, and all thoſe which follow, Demoſthenes inſiſts ſtrongly, that the grandeur of Philip is wholly owing to the ſupineneſs of the Athenians; and that this ſupineneſs which makes him bold, daring, and ſwells him with ſuch a ſpirit of haughtineſs, as even inſults the Athenians.

"See," ſays Demoſthenes to them, ſpeaking of Philip, "to

[n] Demoſt. 1. Philip.

" what a height the arrogance of that man riſes, who will not " ſuffer you to chooſe either action or repoſe; but employs " menaces, and, as fame ſays, ſpeaks in the moſt inſolent " terms; and not contented with his firſt conqueſts, but in- " capable of ſatiating his luſt of dominion, engages every day " in ſome new enterpriſe. Poſſibly, you wait till neceſſity " reduces you to act; can any one be greater to freeborn men " than ſhame and infamy! Will you then for ever walk the " public place with this queſtion in your mouths, " What " news is there?" Can there be greater news than that a " Macedonian has vanquiſhed the Athenians, and made him- " ſelf the ſupreme arbiter of Greece? " Philip is dead," " ſays one; " he is only ſick," replies another. (His being " wounded at Methone had occaſioned theſe reports.) But " whether he be ſick or dead is nothing to the purpoſe, O " Athens! For the moment after heaven had delivered you " from him, ſhould you ſtill behave as you now do, you " would raiſe up another Philip againſt yourſelves; ſince the " man in queſtion owes his grandeur infinitely more to your " indolence, than to his own ſtrength."

But Demoſthenes, not ſatisfied with bare remonſtrances, or with giving his opinion in general terms, propoſed a plan, the execution of which he believed would check the attempts of Philip. In the firſt place, he adviſes the Athenians to fit out a fleet of fifty gallies, and to reſolve firmly to man them themſelves. He requires them to reinforce theſe with ten gallies lightly armed, which may ſerve as a convoy to the fleet and tranſports. With regard to the land-forces, as in his time the general, elected by the moſt powerful faction, formed the army, only of a confuſed aſſemblage of foreigners and mercenary troops, who did little ſervice; Demoſthenes requires them to levy no more than two thouſand choſen troops, five hundred of which ſhall be Athenians, and the reſt raiſed from among the allies; with two hundred horſe, fifty of which ſhall alſo be Athenians.

The expence of this little army, with regard only to proviſions and other matters independent from their pay, was to

amount to little more per month than ninety * talents, (ninety thouſand crowns, viz. forty talents for ten convoy gallies, at the rate of twenty minae, (a thouſand livres) per month for each galley; forty talents for the two thouſand infantry, and ten drachms (five livres) per month for each foot-ſoldier; which five livres per month make little more than three pence farthing French money per diem. Finally, twelve talents for the two hundred horſe, at thirty drachms (fifteen livres) per month for each horſeman; which fifteen livres per month make ten ſols per diem. The reaſon of my relating this ſo particularly, is to give the reader an idea of the expences of an army in thoſe times. Demoſthenes adds, if any one imagines, that the preparation of proviſions is not a conſiderable ſtep, he is very much miſtaken; for he is perſuaded, that provided the forces do not want proviſions, the war will furniſh them with every thing beſides; and that without doing the leaſt wrong to the Greeks or allies, they will not fail of ſufficient acquiſitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay.

But as the Athenians might be ſurpriſed at Demoſthenes's requiring ſo ſmall a body of forces, he gives this reaſon for it, viz. that at preſent the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppoſe Philip with a ſufficient force in the field; and that it would be their buſineſs to make excurſions only. Thus his deſign was, that this little army ſhould be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, obſerve, haraſs, and keep cloſe to the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing ſuch enterpriſes with eaſe, as they might think fit to attempt.

What the ſucceſs of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked perſonally, they, according to the ſupineneſs natural to them, were very indolent with regard to the progreſs of Philip's arms. The diviſions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedaemonia on one ſide employed themſelves wholly in reducing the ſtrength of Thebes their rival; whilſt, on the other ſide, the Theſſalians, in order to free themſelves from their tyrants, and the Thebans, to main-

* Each talent was worth a thouſand crowns.

tain the ſuperiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, devoted themſelves in the moſt reſolute manner to Philip; and aſſiſted him, undeſignedly, in making chains for themſelves.

Philip, as an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all theſe diſſenſions. This king, in order to ſecure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could ſcarce attempt but at the expence of the Athenians, who, ſince the defeat of Xerxes, had many colonies, beſides ſeveral ſtates who were either their allies or tributaries, in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace in the peninſula of Pallene, was one of theſe colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas father of Philip, and had even very much oppoſed the latter, upon his acceſſion to the crown. However, being not firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, he at firſt employed diſſimulation, and requeſted the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, ſome time after, he gave up Potidaea, an important fortreſs, which he had conquered, in concert with and for them, from the Athenians. When he found himſelf able to execute his project, he took proper meaſures in order to beſiege Olynthus. The inhabitants of this city, who ſaw the ſtorm gathering at a diſtance, had recourſe to the Athenians, of whom they requeſted immediate aid. The affair was debated in an aſſembly of the people; and as it was of the utmoſt importance, a great number of orators met in the aſſembly. Each of them mounted it in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demoſthenes, who was then but four-and-thirty, did not ſpeak till after his ſeniors had diſcuſſed the matter a long time.

[n] In this * diſcourſe, the orator, the better to ſucceed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athenians. For

[n] Olynth. ii.

* The oration which Demoſthenes pronounced at that time, is generaly looked upon as the ſecond of the three Olynthiacs, which relate to this ſubject. But M. de Tourreil, chiefly on the authority of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, which ought to be of great weight on this occaſion, changes the order generally obſerved in Demoſthenes's orations, and places this at the head of the Olynthiacs. Though I am of his opinion, I ſhall cite the orations in the order they are printed.

this purpoſe, he repreſents Philip in two very different lights. On one ſide, he is a man, whoſe unbounded ambition the empire of the world could not ſatiate; an haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies, as ſo many ſubjects or ſlaves; and who, for that reaſon, is no leſs incenſed by too ſlow a ſubmiſſion, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent to take advantage of the overſights and errors of others, ſeizes every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior, whom his activity multiplies, and who ſupports perpetually the moſt ſevere toils, without allowing himſelf a moment's repoſe, or having the leaſt regard to the difference of ſeaſons; an intrepid hero, who ruſhes through obſtacles, and plunges into the midſt of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purſe traffics, buys, and employs gold no leſs than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune laviſhes her favours, and for whom ſhe ſeems to have forgot her inconſtancy: But, on the other ſide, this ſame Philip is an imprudent man, who meaſures his vaſt projects, not by his ſtrength, but merely by his ambition; a raſh man, who, by his attempts, digs himſelf the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a ſmall effort would throw him; a knave, whoſe power is raiſed on the moſt ruinous of all foundations, breach of faith and villany; an uſurper, hated univerſally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws, human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, deteſted even in the heart of his dominions; in which, by the infamy of his manners and other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his ſoldiers, and of all his ſubjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of deſtroying by any hand that will adminiſter to their wrath, and ſecond their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Tourreil draws, by uniting the ſeveral detached lineaments in the preſent oration of Demoſthenes. In it is ſhewn the great freedom with which the Athenians ſpoke of ſo powerful a monarch.

Our orator, after having repreſented Philip one moment as

formidable, the next very eaſy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing ſuch an enemy, would be to reform the new abuſes; to revive the ancient order and regulations; to appeaſe domeſtic diſſenſions; and to ſuppreſs the cabals which are inceſſantly forming: and all this in ſuch a manner, that every thing may unite in the ſole point of the public ſervice; and that, at a common expence, every man, according to his abilities, may concur to the deſtruction of the common enemy.

Demades†, bribed by Philip's gold, oppoſed very ſtrenuouſly the advice of Demoſthenes; but in vain: for the Athenians ſent, under the conduct of Chares the general, thirty gallies, and two thouſand men, to ſuccour the Olynthians, who, in this urgent neceſſity, which ſo nearly affected all the Greeks in general, could obtain aſſiſtance only from the Athenians.

However, this ſuccour did not prevent the deſigns of Philip, or the progreſs of his arms. For he marches into Chalcis, takes ſeveral places of ſtrength, the fortreſs of Gira, and ſpreads terror throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus in great danger of an invaſion, and menaced with deſtruction, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to Athens, to ſolicit a new reinforcement. Demoſthenes argues very ſtrongly in favour of their requeſt, and proves to the Athenians, that they were equally obliged by honour and intereſt to have regard to it. This is the ſubject of the Olynthiac generally taken as the third.

The orator, always animated with a ſtrong and lively zeal for the ſafety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by ſetting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to them a moſt dreadful proſpect of the future, if they do not rouſe from their lethargy: For that, in caſe Philip ſeizes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens afterwards with all his forces.

The greateſt difficulty was the means of raiſing ſufficient ſums for defraying the expences requiſite for the ſuccour of the Olynthians, becauſe the military funds were otherwiſe employed, viz. for the celebration of the public games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had

† Suidas in voce Δημάδης.

concluded a thirty years peace with the Lacedaemonians, they reſolved to put into their treaſury, by way of reſerve, a thouſand talents every year; at the ſame time prohibiting any perſon, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulſing an enemy who ſhould invade Attica. This was at firſt obſerved with the warmth and fervour which men have for all new inſtitutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, propoſed to diſtribute among them, in times of peace*, the thouſand talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the public ſhews; upon condition, however, that they might reſume this fund in time of war. The propoſal was approved, and the reſtriction alſo. But, as all conceſſions of this kind degenerate one time or other into licence, the Athenians were ſo highly pleaſed with this deſtribution, called by Demades "a glue by which the "Athenians might be catched," that they abſolutely would not ſuffer it to be retrenched on any account. The abuſe was carried to ſuch a height, that Eubulus, one of the faction which oppoſed Demoſthenes, prohibited any perſon, upon pain of death, ſo much as propoſe the reſtoring, for the ſervice of the war, thoſe funds which Pericles had transferred to the games and public ſhews. Apollodorus was even puniſhed for declaring himſelf of a contrary opinion, and for inſiſting upon it.

This abſurd profuſion had very ſtrange effects. It was impoſſible to ſupply it by impoſing taxes, the inequality of which, being entirely arbitrary, perpetuated ſtrong feuds, and made the military preparations ſo very ſlow, as quite defeated the ſigns of them, without leſſening the expence. As the artificers and ſea-faring people, who compoſed about two thirds of the people of Athens, did not contribute any part of their ſubſtance, and only gave their perſons, the weight of the taxes fell entirely upon the rich. Theſe murmured upon that account, reproached the others with the public monies being ſquandered upon feſtivals, comedies, and the like ſuperfluities. But the people, being ſenſible of their ſuperiority, paid very

* Theſe games, beſides the two oboli which were diſtributed to each of the perſons preſent, occaſioned a great number of other expences.

little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to ſubtract from their diverſions, merely to eaſe people who poſſeſſed employments and dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Beſides, any perſon who ſhould dare to propoſe this to the people ſeriouſly and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demoſthenes preſumed to introduce this ſubject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmoſt art and circumſpection. After ſhewing that the Athenians were indiſpenſably obliged to raiſe an army, in order to ſtop the enterpriſes of Philip, he hints, but in a diſtant way, that thoſe funds which were expended in theatric repreſentations, ought to be employed for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demanded that commiſſioners might be nominated, not to enact new laws, there being already but too many eſtabliſhed, but to examine and aboliſh ſuch as ſhould be prejudicial to the commonwealth. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital puniſhment, as enacted by thoſe laws; becauſe he did not require that they ſhould be actually aboliſhed, but only that commiſſioners might be nominated to inſpect them. He only hinted, how highly neceſſary it was to aboliſh a law, which grieved the moſt zealous citizens, and reduced them to this ſad neceſſity, either to ruin themſelves, in caſe they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to deſtroy their country, in caſe they obſerved a fearful prevaricating ſilence.

Theſe remonſtrances do not ſeem to have the ſucceſs they deſerved, ſince in the following Olynthiac, which is commonly placed as the firſt, the orator was obliged to inveigh once more againſt the miſapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorouſly attacked by Philip, and having hitherto been very ill ſerved by the venal ſuccours of Athens, required, by a third embaſſy, a body of troops, which ſhould not conſiſt of mercenaries and foreigners as before, but of true Athenians, of men inſpired with a ſincere ardour for the intereſt both of their own glory, and the common cauſe. The Athenians, at the earneſt ſolicitation of Demoſthenes, ſent Chares a ſecond time, with a reinforcement of ſeventeen gallies, of two thou-

ſand foot and three hundred horſe, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians requeſted.

[o] The following year Philip poſſeſſed himſelf of Olynthus. Neither the ſuccours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domeſtic enemies. It was betrayed by Euthycrates and Laſthenes, two of its moſt eminent citizens, in actual employment at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and ſells the reſt for ſlaves; and diſtinguiſhes thoſe who had betrayed their city, no otherwiſe than by the ſupreme contempt he expreſſed for them. This king, like his ſon Alexander, loved the treaſon, but abhorred the traitor. And, indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? [p] Every one, even the common ſoldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Laſthenes for the perfidy, who complaining to Philip upon that account, he only made this ironical anſwer, infinitely more ſevere than the reproach itſelf: "Do not mind what a pack of vulgar fellows ſay, who call "every thing by its real name."

The king was overjoyed at his being poſſeſſed of this city, which was of the utmoſt importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conqueſts. [q] Some years before, the Olynthians had long reſiſted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedaemonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little reſiſtance, at leaſt had not loſt many men in the ſiege.

He now cauſed ſhews and public games to be exhibited with the utmoſt magnificence. To theſe he added feaſts, in which he made himſelf very popular, beſtowing on all the gueſts conſiderable gifts, and treating them with the utmoſt marks of his friendſhip.

[o] A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. Diod. l. xvi. p. 450—452.
[p] Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178. [q] Diod. l. xv. p. 341.

SECTION IV.

PHILIP declares for THEBES againſt the PHOCAEANS. He ſeizes on THERMOPYLAE.

THE Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war[r], which they had ſo long carried on againſt the Phocaeans, addreſſed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had obſerved a kind of neutrality with reſpect to the ſacred war; and he ſeemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himſelf, that is, till both parties ſhould have weakened themſelves by a long war, which equally exhauſted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtineſs, and thoſe ambitious views with which the victories of Epaminondas had inſpired them. The inſtant therefore that they requeſted the alliance of Phillip, he reſolved to eſpouſe the intereſt of that republic, in oppoſition to the Phocaeans. He had not loſt ſight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himſelf maſter of it. To give ſucceſs to his deſign, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not ſo void of ſenſe as to imagine, that the latter party would aſſiſt his deſign of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themſelves voluntarily to him, and who ſtood in need of Philip's power to ſupport themſelves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a ſpecious colour to his arms, beſides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he alſo pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired with regard to the violated god; and was very glad to paſs for a religious prince, who warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the god, and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means the eſteem and friendſhip of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views,

[r] A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

and endeavour to ſkreen the moſt unjuſt attempts with the veil of probity, and ſometimes even of religion; though they very frequently have no manner of regard for either.

[s] There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to poſſeſs himſelf of Thermopylae, as it opened him a paſſage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the ſacred war to himſelf, as if he had been principal in that affair, and to preſide in the Pythian games. He was deſirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to poſſeſs himſelf of Phocis: But then, in order to put this double deſign in execution, it was neceſſary for him to keep it ſecret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war againſt Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocaeans. His buſineſs therefore was to make them change their meaſures, by placing other objects in their view; and on this occaſion the politics of Philip ſucceeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthenſome, and of little benefit to them, had commiſſioned Cteſiphon and Phrynon to ſound the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he ſtood diſpoſed with regard to peace. Theſe related that Philip did not appear averſe to it; and that he even expreſſed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this, the Athenians reſolved to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy, to enquire more ſtrictly into the truth of things, and to procure the laſt explanations, previouſly neceſſary to ſo important a negociation. Æſchines and Demoſthenes were among the ten ambaſſadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commiſſion very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this, they were immediately ſent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then Demoſthenes, who in his firſt embaſſy had met ſome Athenian captives at Macedonia, and had promiſed to return and ranſom them at his own expence, endeavours to enable himſelf to keep his word; and, in the mean time, adviſes his colleagues to embark with the utmoſt expedition, as the republic had commanded; and to wait as ſoon as poſſible

[s] Demoſth. Orat. de falſ. Legat.

upon Philip, in what place ſoever he might be. However, theſe, inſtead of making a ſpeedy diſpatch, as they were deſired, go an ambaſſador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, ſtay three months in that country, and give Philip time to poſſeſs himſelf of ſeveral other ſtrong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At laſt, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace; but having lulled them aſleep with the ſpecious pretence of a treaty, he deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the ambaſſadors one after another by preſents, Demoſthenes excepted, who being but one, oppoſed his colleagues to no manner of purpoſe.

In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at Pherae in Theſſaly, he at laſt ratifies the treaty of peace, but refuſes to include the Phocaeans in it. When news was brought to Athens, that Philip had ſigned the treaty, it occaſioned very great joy in that city, eſpecially to thoſe who were averſe to the war, and dreaded the conſequences of it. Among theſe was Iſocrates [1]. He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whoſe proſperity he had very much at heart. The weakneſs of his voice, with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in public, and from mounting like others the tribunal of harangues. He had opened ſchool in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and ſucceſs. However, he had not entirely renounced the care of public affairs; and as others ſerved their country *viva voce*, in the public aſſemblies, Iſocrates contributed to it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and theſe being ſoon made public, were very eagerly ſought after.

On the preſent occaſion, he wrote a piece of conſiderable length, which he addreſſed to Philip, with whom he held a correſpondence, but in ſuch terms as were worthy a good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at leaſt fourſcore and eight. The ſcope of this diſcourſe was to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had juſt

[1] Iſocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to turn his arms againſt the king of Perſia. The buſineſs was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the reſt depended, viz. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos. He confeſſes, that had Sparta or Athens been as powerful as formerly, he ſhould have been far from making ſuch a propoſal, which he was ſenſible they would never approve; and which the pride of thoſe two republics, whilſt ſuſtained and augmented by ſucceſs, would reject with diſdain. But that now, as the moſt powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhauſted by long wars, and humbled in their turns by fatal reverſes of fortune, have equally an intereſt in laying down their arms, and living in peace, purſuant to the example which the Athenians had begun to ſet them; the preſent is the moſt favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the ſeveral cities of Greece.

In caſe he, Philip, ſhould be ſo happy as to ſucceed in ſuch a project; ſo glorious and beneficial a ſucceſs would raiſe him above whatever had appeared moſt auguſt in Greece. But this project in itſelf, though it ſhould not have ſo happy an effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the eſteem, the affection, and confidence of all the nations of Greece; advantages infinitely preferable to the taking of cities, and all the conqueſts he might hope to obtain.

Some perſons indeed, who were prejudiced againſt Philip, repreſent and exclaim againſt him as a crafty prince, who gives a ſpecious pretext to his march, but, at the ſame time, has in reality no other object in view but the enſlaving of Greece. Iſocrates, either from a too great credulity, or from a deſire of bringing Philip into his views, ſuppoſes, that rumours ſo injurious as theſe, have no manner of foundation; it not being probable, that a prince who glories in being deſcended from Hercules, the deliverer of Greece, ſhould think of invading and poſſeſſing himſelf of it. But theſe very reports, which are ſo capable of blackening his name, and of ſullying all his glory, ſhould prompt him to demonſtrate the falſity of them in the preſence of all Greece by the leaſt ſuſpicions of proofs, in leav-

ing and maintaining each city in the full poſſeſſion of its laws and liberties; in removing with the utmoſt care all ſuſpicions of partiality; in not eſpouſing the intereſt of one people againſt another; in winning the confidence of all men by a noble diſintereſtedneſs and an invariable love of juſtice: In fine, by aſpiring to no other title than that of the Reconciler of the Diviſions of Greece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.

It is in the king of Perſia's dominions he ought to merit thoſe laſt titles. The conqueſt of it is open and ſure to him, in caſe he could ſucceed in pacifying the troubles of Greece. He ſhould call to mind, that Ageſilaus, with no other forces than thoſe of Sparta, ſhook the Perſian throne, and would infallibly have ſubverted it, had he not been recalled into Greece, by the inteſtine diviſions which then broke out. The ſignal victory of the ten thouſand under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the ſight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip againſt a prince inferior in every reſpect to him whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Iſocrates concludes with declaring, that one would believe the gods had hitherto granted Philip ſo long a train of ſucceſſes, with no other view but that he might be enabled to form and execute the glorious enterpriſe, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counſel he gave to three heads: That this prince ſhould govern his own empire with wiſdom and juſtice; ſhould heal the diviſions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without deſiring to poſſeſs any part of it himſelf; and this being done, that he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt a country, which from all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their deſtruction. It muſt be confeſſed, that this is a moſt noble plan, and highly worthy a great prince. But Iſocrates had a very falſe idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not poſſeſs the equity, moderation, or diſintereſtedneſs, which ſuch a project required. He really in-

tended to attack Perſia; but was perſuaded, that it was his buſineſs to ſecure himſelf firſt of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, not by ſervices but by force. He did not endeavour either to win over or perſuade nations, but ſubject and reduce them. As on his ſide he had no manner of regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by himſelf, and was for aſſuring himſelf of them by much ſtronger ties than thoſe of friendſhip, gratitude, and ſincerity.

As Demoſthenes was better acquainted with the ſtate of affairs than Iſocrates, ſo he formed a truer judgment of Philip's deſigns. Upon his return from his embaſſy, he declares expreſsly, that he does not approve either of the diſcourſe or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æſchines, who had been bribed, aſſures the Athenians, that he had diſcovered the greateſt candour and ſincerity in the promiſes and proceedings of this king. He had engaged that Theſpiae and Plataea ſhould be repeopled, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Thebans; that in caſe he ſhould proceed ſo far as to ſubject the Phocaeans, he would preſerve them, and not do them the leaſt injury; that he would reſtore Thebes to the good order which had before been obſerved in it; that Oropus ſhould be given up abſolutely to the Athenians; and that in lieu of Amphipolis, they ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Euboea. It was to no purpoſe that Demoſthenes remonſtrated to his fellow citizens, that Philip, notwithſtanding all theſe glorious promiſes, endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf, in an abſolute manner, of Phocis; and that by abandoning it to him, they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all Greece into his hands. He was not heard; and the oration of Æſchines, who engaged that Philip would make good his ſeveral promiſes, prevailed over that of Demoſthenes.

[t] Theſe deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of Thermopylae, and to enter Phocis. Hitherto there had been no poſſibility of reducing the Phocaeans; but Philip needed but appear, for the bare ſound of his name filled them with terror. Upon the ſuppoſition that he was marching againſt a herd of ſacrilegious wretches, not againſt common

[t] A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Diod. l. xvi. p. 455.

enemies, he ordered all his ſoldiers to wear crowns of laurel, and led them to battle as under the conduct of the god himſelf, whoſe honour they revenged. The inſtant they appeared, the Phocaeans believed themſelves overcome. Accordingly they ſue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalecus their leader leave to retire into Peloponneſus, with the eight thouſand men in his ſervice. In this manner Philip, with very little trouble, engroſſed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhauſted the forces of both parties. * This victory gained him incredible honour throughout all Greece; and his glorious expedition was the topic of all converſations in that country. He was conſidered as the avenger of ſacrilege and the protector of religion; and they almoſt ranked in the number of the gods, the man who had defended their majeſty with ſo much courage and ſucceſs.

Philip, that he might not ſeem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, aſſembles the council of the Amphictyons, and appoints them, for form ſake, ſupreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocaeans had rendered themſelves obnoxious. Under the name of theſe judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phocis ſhall be deſtroyed, that they ſhall all be reduced to ſmall towns of ſixty houſes each, and that thoſe towns ſhall be at a certain diſtance one from the other; that thoſe wretches who have committed ſacrilege, ſhall be abſolutely proſcribed; and that the reſt ſhall not enjoy their poſſeſſions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which ſhall continue to be levied till ſuch time as the whole ſums taken out of the temple of Delphos ſhall be repaid. Philip did not forget himſelf on this occaſion. After he had ſubjected the rebellious Phocaeans, he demanded that their ſeat in the council of the Amphictyons, which they had been declared to have forfeited, ſhould be transferred to him. The Amphictyons, the inſtrument of whoſe vengeance he had now been, were afraid of refuſing him, and accordingly admit-

* Incredibile quantum ea res apud omnes nationes Philippo gloriae dedit. Illum vindicem ſacrilegii, illum ultorem religionum. Itaque Diis proximus habetur, per quem deorum majeſtas vindicata ſit. Juſtin. l. viii. c. 2.

ted him a member of their body; a circumſtance of the higheſt importance to him, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, and of very dangerous conſequence to all the reſt of Greece. They alſo gave him the ſuperintendence of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Boeotians and Theſſalians; becauſe the Corinthians, who poſſeſſed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themſelves unworthy of it, by ſharing in the ſacrilege of the Phocaeans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocaeans had met with, the former perceived, but too late, the wrong ſtep they had taken in refuſing to comply with the counſels of Demoſthenes; and in abandoning themſelves blindly to the vain and idle promiſes of a traitor who had ſold his country. Beſides the ſhame and grief with which they were ſeized, for having failed in the obligations of the † confederacy, they found that they had betrayed their own intereſts in abandoning their allies. For Philip, by poſſeſſing himſelf of Phocis, was become maſter of Thermopylae, which opened him the gates, and put into his hands the keys of Greece. [u] The Athenians, therefore, being alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children ſhould be brought out of the country into the city; that the walls ſhould be repaired, and the Piraeus fortified, in order to put themſelves into a ſtate of defence, in caſe of an invaſion.

The Athenians had no ſhare in the decree, by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphictyons. They perhaps had abſented themſelves purpoſely, that they might not authorize it by their preſence; or, which was more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obſtacles, and avoid the remoras he might meet with in the execution of his deſign, aſſembled ſuch of the Amphictyons only as were entirely at his devotion. In ſhort, he conducted his intrigue ſo very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be diſputed as clandeſtine and irregular; and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the people, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the

[u] Demoſt. de falſ. Legat. p. 321.

† With the Phocaeans.

circular invitation; but in an aſſembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, ſeveral were of opinion, that no notice ſhould be taken of it. Demoſthenes, however, was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their intereſt to infringe it in the preſent juncture; ſince that could not be done without ſtirring up againſt the Athenians, both the new Amphictyon, and thoſe who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they ſhould not expoſe themſelves unſeaſonably to the dangerous conſequences which might enſue, in caſe of their determinate refuſal, to conſent to the almoſt unanimous decree of the Amphictyons; and proteſted, that it was their intereſt to ſubmit, for fear of worſe, to the preſent condition of the times; that is, to comply with what was not in their power to prevent. This is the ſubject of Demoſthenes's diſcourſe, intitled, Oration on the Peace. We may reaſonably believe that his advice was followed.

SECTION V.

PHILIP extends his CONQUESTS into ILLYRIA and THRACE. CHARACTER of PHOCION. His SUCCESS againſt PHILIP.

AFTER Philip had ſettled every thing relating to the worſhip of the god [u], and the ſecurity of the temple of Delphos, he returned into Macedonia with great glory, and the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. [x] Diodorus obſerves, that all thoſe who had ſhared in profaning and plundering the temple, periſhed miſerably, and came to a tragical end.

[y] Philip, ſatisfied that he had opened himſelf a paſſage into Greece by his ſeizure of Thermopylae; that he had ſubjected Phocis; had eſtabliſhed himſelf one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphictyon; and that he had gained the eſteem and applauſe of all nations, by his zeal to revenge the honour of the deity; judged very prudently, that it would

[u] A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 344. [x] Diod. l. xvi. p. 456.
[y] Ibid. p. 463.

be proper for him to ſtop his career, in order to prevent all the ſtates of Greece from taking arms againſt him, in caſe they ſhould diſcover too ſoon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order therefore to remove all ſuſpicion, and to ſoothe the diſquietudes which aroſe on that occaſion, he turned his arms againſt Illyria, purpoſely to extend his frontiers on that ſide, and to keep always his troops in exerciſe by ſome new expedition.

The ſame motive prompted him afterwards to go over into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he had diſpoſſeſſed the Athenians of ſeveral ſtrong places in that country. Philip ſtill carried on his conqueſts there. † Suidas obſerves, that before he took Olynthus, he had made himſelf maſter of thirty-two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. Cherſoneſus alſo was ſituated very commodiouſly for him. This was a very rich peninſula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine paſture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants of it put themſelves under the protection of Lacedaemonia, after Lyſander had deſtroyed Athens; but ſubmitted again to their firſt maſters, after Conon, the ſon of Timotheus, had reinſtated that country. Cotys, king of Thrace, then diſpoſſeſſed the Athenians of Cherſoneſus; [z] but it was afterwards reſtored to them by Cherſobleptus, ſon of Cotys, who finding himſelf unable to defend it againſt Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad; reſerving however to himſelf Cardia, which was the moſt conſiderable city of the peninſula, and formed, as it were, the gate and entrance of it. [a] After Philip had deprived Cherſobleptus of his kingdom, which happened the ſecond year of the 109th Olympiad [b], the inhabitants of Cardia being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athenians, who claimed their city, which formerly belonged to them, ſubmitted themſelves to Philip, who did not fail to take them under his protection.

[c] Diopithes, principal of the colony which the Athenians

[z] Diod. l. xvi. p. 434. [a] Ibid. p. 464. [b] A. M. 3669. Ant J. C. 335.
[c] A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Liban. in Demoſth. p. 75.
† In Κάρων.

had ſent into Cherſoneſus, looking upon this ſtep in Philip as an act of hoſtility againſt the commonwealth, without waiting for an order, and fully perſuaded that it would not be diſavowed, marches ſuddenly into the dominions of that prince in the maritime part of Thrace, whilſt he was carrying on an important war in Upper Thrace; plunders them before he had time to return and make head againſt him, and carries off a rich booty, all which he lodged ſafe in Cherſoneſus. Philip, not being able to revenge himſelf in the manner he could have wiſhed, contented himſelf with making grievous complaints to the Athenians by letters upon that account. Such as received penſions from him in Athens, ſerved him but too effectually. Theſe venal wretches loudly exclaimed againſt a conduct, which, if not prudent, was at leaſt excuſable. They declaim againſt Diopithes; impeach him of involving the ſtate in war; accuſe him of extortion and piracy; inſiſt upon his being recalled, and purſue his condemnation with the utmoſt heat and violence.

Demoſthenes, ſeeing at this juncture that the public warfare was inſeparable from that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the ſubject of his oration of Cherſoneſus. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comic poet, whom Terence has copied ſo faithfully.

Diopithes was accuſed of oppreſſing the allies by his unjuſt exactions. However, Demoſthenes lays the leaſt ſtreſs on this, becauſe it was perſonal; he nevertheleſs pleads his apology (tranſiently) from the example of all the generals, to whom the iſlands and cities of Aſia Minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchaſed ſecurity to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them againſt the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exerciſe oppreſſions, and ranſom allies very unſeaſonably. But in this caſe, a bare decree *, an accuſation in due form, a galley appointed to bring whom the general recalled; all this is ſufficient to put a ſtop to abuſes. But it is otherwiſe with regard to Philip's enterpriſes. Theſe cannot be checked either by decrees or menaces; and nothing will do this effectually, but raiſing troops, and fitting out gallies.

* It was called Πάραλος.

" Your orators," fays he, " cry out eternally to you, that " we muſt make choice either of peace or war: But Philip " does not leave this at our option; he who is daily meditat- " ing ſome new enterpriſe againſt us. And can we doubt but " it was he who broke the peace, unleſs it is pretended, that " we have no reaſon to complain of him, as long as he ſhall " forbear making any attempts on Attica and the Piraeus? " But it will then be too late for us to oppoſe him; and it is " now we muſt prepare ſtrong barriers againſt his ambitious " deſigns. You ought to lay it down as a certain maxim, O " Athenians, that it is you he aims at; that he conſiders you " as his moſt dangerous enemies; that your ruin only can eſ- " tabliſh his tranquillity, and ſecure his conqueſts; and that " whatever he is now projecting, is merely with the view of " falling upon you, and of reducing Athens to a ſtate of ſub- " jection. And, indeed, can any of you be ſo vaſtly ſimple, " as to imagine that Philip is ſo greedy of a few paltry towns†; " for what other name can we beſtow on thoſe he now at- " tacks? that he ſubmits to fatigues, ſeaſons, and dangers, " merely for the ſake of gaining them; but that as for the " harbours, the arſenals, the gallies, the ſilver mines, and " the immenſe revenues of the Athenians; that he, I ſay, " conſiders theſe with indifference, does not covet them in " the leaſt, but will ſuffer you to remain in quiet poſſeſſion " of them?

" What concluſion are we to draw from all that has been " ſaid? Why, that ſo far from caſhiering the army we have " in Thrace, it muſt be conſiderably reinforced and ſtrength- " ened by new levies, in order, that as Philip has always one " in readineſs to oppreſs and enſlave the Greeks; we, on our " ſide, may always have one on foot, to defend and preſerve " them." There is reaſon to believe, that Demoſthenes's ad- vice was followed.

[c] The ſame year that this oration was ſpoke, Arymbas king of Moloſſus or Epirus, died. He was ſon of Alcetas, and had a brother called Neoptolemus, whoſe daughter Olympias was

[c] Diod. l. xvi. p. 465.

† In Thrace.

married to Philip. This Neoptolemus, by the credit and authority of his ſon-in-law, was raiſed ſo high as to ſhare the regal power with his elder brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This firſt unjuſt action was followed by a greater. For after the death of Arymbas *, Philip played his part ſo well, either by his intrigues or his menaces, that the Moloſſians expelled Æacidas, ſon and lawful ſucceſſor to Arymbas, and eſtabliſhed Alexander, ſon of Neoptolemus, ſole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-in-law, but ſon-in-law to Philip, whoſe daughter Cleopatra he had married, as will be obſerved in the ſequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidas reaſcended the throne of his anceſtors, reigned alone in Epirus, and tranſmitted the crown to his ſon, the famous Pyrrhus, ſo famous in the Roman hiſtory, and ſecond couſin to Alexander the Great; Alcetas being grandfather to both theſe monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponneſus. [d] Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Lacedaemonia aſſumed the ſovereignty of it, with no other right than of being the ſtrongeſt. Argos and Meſſene being oppreſſed, had recourſe to Philip. He had juſt before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators who had been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. However, ſo far from that, after having ſubdued Phocis, he divided the conqueſt with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which preſented itſelf, of opening him a gate through which he might paſs into Peloponneſus; in which country, the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta, made them foment diviſions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore ſolicited Philip to join with them, the Meſſenians and Argives, in order to humble in concert the power of Lacedaemonia.

This prince readily came into an alliance which ſuited with his views. He propoſed to the Amphyctions, or rather dic-

[d] Demoſth. in Philipp. ii. Liban. in Demoſth.

* Juſtin, book viii. ch. vi. curtails the genealogy of this prince, and confounds this ſucceſſion.

tated to them, the decree which ordained that Lacedaemonia ſhould permit Argos and Meſſene to enjoy an entire independence, purſuant to to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and, upon pretence of not expoſing the authority of the ſtates-general of Greece, he ordered at the ſame time a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedaemonia being juſtly alarmed, requeſted the Athenians to ſuccour them; and by an embaſſy preſſed earneſtly for the concluding of ſuch an alliance as their common ſafety might require. The ſeveral powers, whoſe intereſt it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to gain their ends. Philip repreſented by his ambaſſadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war againſt him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing ſo was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broke his word in this particular, he muſt firſt have given it; and that the treaties themſelves proved manifeſtly, that he had not made any promiſe to that purpoſe. Philip indeed ſaid true, with regard to the written articles and the public ſtipulations; but Æſchines had made this promiſe by word of mouth in his name. On the other ſide, the ambaſſadors of Thebes, of Argos, and Meſſene, were alſo very urgent with the Athenians; and reproached them with having already ſecretly favoured the Lacedaemonians but too much, who were the profeſſed enemies to the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponneſus.

[c] But Demoſthenes, inſenſible to all theſe ſolicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real intereſt of his country, aſcended the tribunal, in order to enforce the negociation of the Lacedaemonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his uſual cuſtom, with ſupineneſs and indolence. He expoſes the ambitious deſigns of Philip, which he ſtill purſues; and declares that they aim at no leſs than the conqueſt of all Greece. "You excel," ſays he to them, "both you "and he, in that circumſtance which is the object of your ap- "plication and your cares. You ſpeak in a better manner "than him, and he acts better than you. The experience of

[c] Philip. ii.

" the paſt, ought at leaſt to open your eyes; and make you " more ſuſpicious and circumſpect with regard to him: But " this ſerves to no other purpoſe than to lull you aſleep. At " this time his troops are marching towards Peloponneſus; he " is ſending money to it; and his arrival in perſon, at the " head of a powerful army, is expected every moment. Do " you think that you will be ſecure, after he ſhall have poſ- " ſeſſed himſelf of the territories around you? Art has invent- " ed, for the ſecurity of cities, various methods of defence, as " ramparts, walls, ditches, and the like work; but nature ſur- " rounds the wiſe with a common bulwark, which covers " them on all ſides, and provides for the ſecurity of ſtates. " What is this bulwark? It is diffidence." He concludes with exhorting the Athenians to rouſe from their lethargy; to ſend immediate ſuccour to the Lacedaemonians; and, above all, to puniſh directly all ſuch domeſtic traitors as have deceived the people, and brought their preſent calamities upon them, by ſpreading falſe reports, and employing captious aſſurances.

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invaſion of Peloponneſus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the ſame time. However, he did not ſit ſtill, but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time conſidered Euboea as proper, from its ſituation, to favour the deſigns he meditated againſt Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of it. He indeed ſet every engine to work at that time, in order to ſeize upon that iſland, which he called the Shakles of Greece. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other ſide, not to ſuffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy; eſpecially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge. However, that people, according to their uſual cuſtom, continued indolent, whilſt Philip purſued his conqueſts. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his intereſt, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the iſland, and by dint of preſents bribed thoſe who had the greateſt au-

tority in it. [f] At the requeſt of certain of the inhabitants, he ſent ſome troops privately thither; poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral ſtrong places; diſmantled Porthmos, a very important fortreſs in Eubœa, and eſtabliſhed three tyrants or kings over the country. He alſo ſeized upon Oreum, one of the ſtrongeſt cities of Eubœa, of which it poſſeſſed the fourth part; and eſtabliſhed five tyrants over it, who exerciſed an abſolute authority there in his name.

[g] Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria ſent a deputation to the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver that iſland, every part of which was upon the point of ſubmitting entirely to the Macedonian. The Athenians, upon this, ſent ſome troops under the command of Phocion. [h] That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have, in the ſequel, a great ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs, both foreign and domeſtic. He had ſtudied in the academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that ſchool had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the moſt auſtere virtue. We are told, that no Athenian ever ſaw him laugh, weep, or go to the public baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always walked * barefoot, and without a cloak, unleſs the weather happened to be inſupportably cold; ſo that the ſoldiers uſed to ſay laughing, "See! Phocion "has got his cloak on; it is a ſign of a hard winter."

He knew that eloquence is a neceſſary quality in a ſtateſman, for enabling him to execute happily the great deſigns he may undertake during his adminiſtration. He therefore applied himſelf particularly to the attainment of it, and with great ſucceſs. Perſuaded that it is with words as with coins, of which the moſt eſteemed are thoſe that with leſs weight have moſt intrinſic value; Phocion had formed himſelf to a lively, cloſe, conciſe ſtile, which expreſſed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day abſent in an aſſembly, where he was preparing to ſpeak, he was aſked the reaſon of it: "I am conſi-"dering," ſays he, "whether it is not poſſible for me to re-

[f] Demoſth. Philip iii. p. 93.
[g] Plut. in Phoc p. 746, 747. [h] Ibid. p. 743, 745.
* Socrates uſed often to walk in that manner.

" trench any part of the diſcourſe I am to make." He was a ſtrong reaſoner, and by that means carried every thing againſt the moſt ſublime eloquence; which made Demoſthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the public, ſay, " There is the ax which cuts away the effects " of my words." One would imagine, that this kind of eloquence is abſolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the ſame things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not ſo with the Athenians: Lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden ſenſe, they valued themſelves upon underſtanding an orator at half a word, and really underſtood him. Phocion adapted himſelf to their taſte, and in this point ſurpaſſed even Demoſthenes; which is ſaying a great deal.

Phocion obſerving that thoſe perſons, who at this time were concerned in the adminiſtration, had divided it into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Ariſtophon, Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, confined themſelves merely to haranguing the people, and propoſing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leoſthenes, and Chares, advanced themſelves by military employments; he choſe rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Ariſtides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, the arts of government with military valour. Whilſt he was in employment, peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wiſe government; and yet commanded in more expeditions, not only than all the generals of his time, but even than all his predeceſſors. He was honoured with the ſupreme command five-and-forty-times, without having once aſked or made intereſt for it; and was always appointed to command the armies in his abſence. The world was aſtoniſhed, that, being of ſo ſevere a turn of mind, and ſo great an enemy to flattery of every kind, how it was poſſible for him, in a manner to fix in his own favour the natural levity and inconſtancy of the Athenians, though he frequently uſed to oppoſe very ſtrenuouſly their will and caprice, without regard to their captiouſneſs and delicacy. The idea they had formed to themſelves of his probity and zeal for the

public good, extinguished every other opinion of him; and that, according to Plutarch, generally made his eloquence so efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it necessary to give the reader this idea of Phocion's character, because frequent mention will be made of him in the sequel. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude, set up the standard against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the very army he had requested. However, Phocion was not at a loss how to act upon this unforeseen perfidy; for he pursued his enterprise, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria.

After this great success, Phocion returned to Athens; but he was no sooner gone, than all the allies regretted the absence of his goodness and justice. Though the professed enemy of every kind of oppression and extortion, he knew how to insinuate himself into the minds of men with art; and at the same time he made others fear him, he had the rare talent of making them love him still more. He one day made Chabrias a fine answer, who appointed him to go with ten light vessels to raise the tribute which certain cities, in alliance with Athens, paid every year. "To what purpose," says he, "is such a "squadron? Too strong, if I am only to visit allies; but too "weak, if I am to fight enemies." The Athenians knew very well, by the consequences, the signal service which Phocion's great capacity, valour, and experience, had done them in the expedition of Euboea. For Molossus, who succeeded him, and who took upon himself the command of the troops after that general, was so unsuccessful, that he fell into the hands of the enemy.

[1] Philip, who did not lay aside the design he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed the attack, and fought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. To dispose at discretion of their transports, and by that means starve Athens, he marches towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the great-

[1] Demosth. pro. Ctes. p. 486, 487. A. M. 3664. Ant. J. C. 340.

eſt part of its proviſions, with an intention to beſiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his abſence, he left his ſon Alexander in it, with ſovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, ſome proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring ſtates, ſubject to Macedonia, who had conſidered the king's abſence as a very proper time for executing the deſign they had formed of revolting. This happy ſucceſs of Alexander's firſt expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the ſame time an earneſt of what might be expected from him. But fearing, leſt, allured by this dangerous bait, he ſhould abandon himſelf inconſiderately to his vivacity and fire, he ſent for him, in order to become his maſter, and form him in perſon for the trade of war.

Demoſthenes ſtill continued his invectives againſt the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouſe from their lethargy; and alſo againſt the avarice of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amuſed the people upon the ſpecious pretence of a peace he had ſworn to, and however violated openly every day, by the enterpriſes he formed againſt the commonwealth. This is the ſubject of his orations, called the Philippics.

[k] "Whence comes it," ſays he, "that all the Greeks formerly panted ſo ſtrongly after liberty, and now run ſo eagerly into ſervitude? The reaſon is, becauſe there prevailed at that time among the people what prevails no longer among us; that which triumphed over the riches of the Perſians; which maintained the freedom of Greece; which never acted inconſiſtently on any occaſion either by ſea or by land; but which, being now extinguiſhed in every heart, has entirely ruined our affairs, and ſubverted the conſtitution of Greece. It is that common hatred, that general deteſtation, in which they held every perſon who had a ſoul abject enough to ſell himſelf to any man who deſired either to enſlave, or even corrupt Greece. In thoſe times, to accept of a preſent was a capital crime, which never failed of

[k] Philipp. iii. p. 90.

" being punished with death. Neither their orators nor their " generals exercised the scandalous traffic, now become so " common in Athens, where a price is set upon every thing, and where all things are sold to the highest bidder.

[l] " In those happy times, the Greeks lived in perfect union, " founded on the love of the public good, and the desire of " preserving and defending the common liberty. But in this " age, the states abandon one another, and give themselves " up to reciprocal distrusts and jealousies. All of them, with- " out exception, Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, Lacedaemo- " nians, Arcadians, and ourselves no less than others; all, all, " I say, form a separate interest; and this it is that renders " the common enemy so powerful.

[m] " The safety of Greece consists therefore in our uniting " together against this common enemy, if that be possible. " But at least, as to what concerns each of us in particular, " this incontestable maxim it is absolutely necessary to hold, " that Philip attacks you actually at this time; that he has in- " fringed the peace; that by seizing upon all the fortresses a- " round you, he opens and prepares the way for attacking you " yourselves; and that he considers us as his mortal enemies, " because he knows that we only are able to oppose the am- " bitious designs he entertains of grasping universal power.

[n] " These consequently we must oppose with all imaginable " vigour; and for that purpose must ship off, without loss of " time, the necessary aids for Chersonesus and Byzantium; " you must provide instantly whatever necessaries your gene- " rals may require; in fine, you must concert together on such " means as are most proper to save Greece, which is now " threatened with the utmost danger. [o] Though all the rest of " the Greeks, O Athenians, should bow their necks to the " yoke; yet you ought to persist in fighting always for the " cause of liberty. After such preparations, made in presence " of all Greece, let us excite all other states to second us; let " us acquaint every people with our resolutions, and send am- " bassadors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes, Chio, and especially to

[l] Philip. iv. p. 102.
[m] Ibid. iii. p. 97.
[n] Ibid. iii. p. 88.
[o] Ibid. p. 94, 95.

" the king of Perſia; for it is his intereſt, as well as ours, to " check the career of that man."

The ſequel will ſhew, that Demoſthenes's advice was followed almoſt exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards Cherſoneſus. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Perinthus, a conſiderable city of Thrace. [p] The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to ſuccour that place, the orators prevailed ſo far by their ſpeeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was univerſally deſpiſed for his manners, oppreſſions, and mean capacity; but intereſt and credit ſupplied the place of merit on this occaſion, and faction prevailed againſt the counſels of the moſt prudent and virtuous men, as happens but too often. The ſucceſs anſwered the raſhneſs of the choice which had been made: [q] But what could be expected from a general, whoſe abilities were as ſmall as his voluptuouſneſs was great; who took along with him in his military expeditions, a band of muſicians, both vocal and inſtrumental, who were in his pay, which was levied out of the monies appointed for the ſervice of the fleet! In ſhort, the cities themſelves, to whoſe ſuccour he was ſent, would not ſuffer him to come into their harbours; ſo that his fidelity being univerſally ſuſpected, he was obliged to ſail from coaſt to coaſt, buying the allies, and contemned by the enemy.

[r] In the mean time Philip was carrying on the ſiege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had thirty thouſand choſen troops, and military engines of all kinds without number. He had raiſed towers eighty cubits high, which far out-topped thoſe of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one ſide he ſhook the foundations of them by ſubterraneous mines; and on the other, he beat down whole angles of it with his battering-rams: Nor did the beſieged make a leſs vigorous reſiſtance; for as ſoon as one breach was made, Philip was ſurpriſed to ſee another wall behind it, juſt raiſed. The inhabitants of Byzantium ſent them

[p] Plut. in Phoc. p. 747. [q] Athen. l. xii. p. 532.
[r] Diod. l. xvi. p. 466—468.

all the ſuccours neceſſary. The Aſiatic ſatrapae or governors, by the king of Perſia's order, whoſe aſſiſtance we obſerved the Athenians had requeſted, likewiſe threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the beſieged of the ſuccours the Byzantines gave them, went in perſon to form the ſiege of that important city, leaving half his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He was deſirous to appear, in outward ſhow, very tender of giving umbrage to the Athenians whoſe power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuſe with fine words. At the times we now ſpeak of, Philip, by way of Precaution againſt their diſguſt of his meaſures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavours to take off the edge of their reſentments, by reproaching them, in the ſtrongeſt terms, for their infraction of the ſeveral treaties, which he boaſts he had obſerved very religiouſly; this piece he interſperſed very artfully, for he was a great maſter of eloquence, with ſuch complaints and menaces, as are beſt calculated to reſtrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or ſhame. This letter is a maſterpiece in the original. A majeſtic and perſuaſive vivacity ſhines in every part of it; a ſtrength and juſtneſs of reaſoning ſuſtained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural conſequence; a delicate irony; in fine, that noble and conciſe ſtile ſo proper for crowned heads. We might here very juſtly apply to Philip what was ſaid of Caeſar *, "That he handled the pen as well as he did the ſword."

This letter is ſo long, and beſides is filled with ſo great a number of private facts, though each of theſe are important, that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgement made of it. I ſhall therefore cite but one paſſage, by which the reader may form a judgment of the reſt.

"At the time of our moſt open ruptures," ſays Philip to the Athenians, "you went no farther than to fit out privateers againſt me; to ſeize and ſell the merchants that came to trade in my dominions; to favour any party that oppoſed

* Eodem animo dixit, quo bellavit. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

" my meaſures; and to infeſt the places ſubject to me by your " hoſtilities: But now you carry hatred and injuſtice to ſuch " prodigious lengths, as even to ſend ambaſſadors to the Per- " ſian, in order to excite him to declare war againſt me. This " muſt appear a moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance; for before he " had made himſelf maſter of Egypt and Phoenicia, you had " reſolved, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that in caſe he ſhould " attempt any new interpriſe, you then would invite me, in " common with the reſt of the Greeks, to unite our forces " againſt him. And, nevertheleſs, at this time you carry your " hatred to ſuch an height, as to negotiate an alliance with him " againſt me. I have been told, that formerly your fathers im- " puted to Piſiſtratus as an unpardonable crime, his having re- " queſted the ſuccour of the Perſian againſt the Greeks; and " yet you do not bluſh to commit a thing which you were per- " petually condemning in the perſon of your tyrants."

Philip's letter did him as much ſervice as a good manifeſto, and gave his penſioners in Athens a fine opportunity of juſti- fying him to the people, who were very deſirous of eaſing them- ſelves of political inquietudes; and greater enemies to expence and labour, than to uſurpation and tyranny. The boundleſs ambition of Philip, and the eloquent zeal of Demoſthenes, were perpetually claſhing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very induſtriouſly, with a ſpecious pretence, his enterpriſes and infractions of treaty; and the other endeavoured as ſtrongly to reveal the true mo- tives of them to a people, whoſe reſolutions had a great influence with reſpect to the fate of Greece. On this occaſion Demoſt- henes was ſenſible how vaſtly neceſſary it was to eraſe, as ſoon as poſſible, the firſt impreſſions which the peruſal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athenians. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately aſcends the tribunal. He at firſt ſpeaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and ſometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes to the heavy complaints of Philip the idea of an expreſs declaration of war; then, to animate his fel- low citizens, to fill them with confidence in the reſolution with which he inſpires them, he aſſures them, that all things por-

tend the ruin of Philip; Gods, Greeks, Perſians, Macedonians, and even Philip himſelf. Demoſthenes does not obſerve, in this harangue, the exact rules of refutation; he avoids conteſting facts, which might have been diſadvantageous, ſo happily had Philip diſpoſed them, and ſo well had he ſupported them by proofs that ſeemed unanſwerable.

[5] The concluſion which this orator draws from all his arguments is this: "Convinced by theſe truths, O Athenians, and "ſtrongly perſuaded that we can no longer be allowed to af- "firm that we enjoy peace, for Philip has now declared war "againſt us by his letter, and has long done the ſame by his "conduct, you ought not to ſpare either the public treaſure, "or the poſſeſſions of private perſons; but when occaſion "ſhall require, haſte to your reſpective ſtandards, and ſet äbler "generals at your head than thoſe you have hitherto employed: "For no one among you ought to imagine, that the ſame men "who have ruined your affairs, will have abilities to reſtore "them to their former happy ſituation. Think how infamous "it is, that a man from Macedon ſhould contemn dangers to "ſuch a degree, that merely to aggrandize his empire, he "ſhould ruſh into the midſt of combats, and return from "battle covered with wounds; and that Athenians, whoſe he- "reditary right is to obey no man, but to impoſe laws on "others ſword in hand; that Athenians, I ſay, merely through "dejection of ſpirit and indolence, ſhould degenerate from the "glory of their anceſtors, and abandon the intereſt of their "country."

At the very time they were examining this affair, news was brought of the ſhameful reception Chares had met with from the allies, which raiſed a general murmur among the people, who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented their having ſent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then roſe up and told the people, "That they ought not to be exaſperated at the diffi- "dence of the allies, but at the conduct of the generals who "had occaſioned it: For it is theſe, continued he, who render "you odious, and formidable even to thoſe who cannot ſave "themſelves from deſtruction without your aſſiſtance." And indeed Chares, as we have already obſerved, was a general

[5] Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.

without valour or military knowledge. His whole merit conſiſted in having gained a great aſcendant over the people by the haughty and bold air he aſſumed. His preſumption concealed his incapacity from himſelf; and a ſordid principle of avarice made him commit as many blunders as enterpriſes.

[t] The people, ſtruck with this diſcourſe, immediately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himſelf to command a body of freſh troops, in order to ſuccour the allies upon the Helleſpont. This choice contributed chiefly to the preſervation of Byzantium. Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but much more for his probity and diſintereſtedneſs. The Byzantines, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his ſoldiers in their houſes, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and ſoldiers, ſtruck with the confidence repoſed in them, behaved with the utmoſt prudence and modeſty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct. Nor were they leſs admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they ſuſtained, diſcovered the utmoſt intrepidity, which danger ſeemed only to improve. [u] Phocion's prudence, ſeconded by the bravery of his troops, ſoon forced Philip to abandon his deſign upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Helleſpont, which diminiſhed very much his fame and glory, for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing able to oppoſe him. Phocion took ſome of his ſhips, recovered many fortreſſes which he had garriſoned; and having made ſeveral deſcents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces aſſembling to check his progreſs, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.

[x] The Byzantines and Perinthians teſtified their gratitude to the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preſerved by Demoſthenes in one of his orations, the ſubſtance of which I ſhall repeat here. "Under Boſphorius the pontiff, Dama-" getus *, after having deſired leave of the ſenate to ſpeak,

[t] A. M. 3665. Ant. J. C. 339. [u] Diod. l. xvi. p. 368.
[x] Demoſth. pro Ctef. p. 487, 488.
* He probably was the chief magiſtrate.

" ſaid, in a full aſſembly: In as much as in times paſt the con-
" tinual benevolence of the people of Athens towards the By-
" zantines and Perinthians, united by alliance and their com-
" mon origin, has never failed upon any occaſion; that this
" benevolence, ſo often ſignalized, has lately diſplayed itſelf,
" when Philip of Macedon, who had taken up arms to de-
" ſtroy Byzantium and Perinthus, battered our walls, burned
" our country, cut down our foreſts; that in a ſeaſon of ſo
" great calamity, this beneficent people ſuccoured us with a
" fleet of an hundred and twenty ſail, furniſhed with provi-
" ſions, arms, and forces; that they ſaved us from the great-
" eſt danger; in fine, that they reſtored us to the quiet poſ-
" ſeſſion of our government, our laws, and our tombs: The
" Byzantines and Perinthians grant, by decree, the Atheni-
" ans to ſettle in the countries belonging to Perinthus and
" Byzantium; to marry in them, to purchaſe lands, and to
" enjoy all the prerogatives of citizens; they alſo grant them
" a diſtinguiſhed place at public ſhews, and the right of ſit-
" ting both in the ſenate and the aſſembly of the people, next
" to the pontiffs: And further, that every Athenian who ſhall
" think proper to ſettle in either of the two cities above men-
" tioned, ſhall be exempted from taxes of any kind: That in
" the harbours, three ſtatues of ſixteen cubits each ſhall be
" ſet up, which ſtatues ſhall repreſent the people of Athens
" crowned by thoſe of Byzantium and Perinthus: And be-
" ſides, that preſents ſhall be ſent to the four ſolemn games
" of Greece, and that the crown we have decreed to the
" Athenians, ſhall there be proclaimed; ſo that the ſame ce-
" remony may acquaint all the Greeks, both with the mag-
" nanimity of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Perin-
" thians and Byzantines."

The inhabitants of Cherſoneſus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: " Among the nations inhabiting
" the Cherſoneſus, the people of Seſtos, of Ælia, of Mady-
" tis, and of Alopeconneſus, decree to the people and ſenate
" of Athens, a crown of gold of ſixty talents *; and erect two
" altars, the one to the goddeſs of gratitude, and the other to

* Sixty thouſand French crowns.

" the Athenians, for their having, by the moſt glorious of all " benefactions, freed from the yoke of Philip the people of " Cherſoneſus, and reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of their " country, their laws, their liberty, and their temples: An " act of beneficence, which they ſhall fix eternally in their " memories, and never ceaſe to acknowledge to the utmoſt " of their power. All which they have reſolved in full ſe- " nate."

[x] Philip, after having been forced to raiſe the ſiege of Byzantium, marched againſt Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received ſome perſonal cauſe of diſcontent, and took his ſon with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which conſiſted not in gold or ſilver, the uſe and value of which the Scythians were not as yet ſo unhappy as to know; but in cattle, in horſes, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Moeſia, diſputed the paſs with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle; and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each ſide were killed on the ſpot. The king himſelf was wounded in the thigh, and with the ſame thruſt had his horſe killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid; and, covering him with his ſhield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

SECTION VI.

PHILIP appointed GENERALISSIMO of the GREEKS. ATHENIANS and THEBANS unite againſt him. He gains a BATTLE at CHAERONEA.

THE Athenians had conſidered the ſiege of Byzantium as an abſolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. [y] The king of Macedon, who was apprehenſive of the conſequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whoſe

[x] Juſtin. l. ix. c. 2, 3.

[y] A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338. Plut. in Phoc. p. 748.

hatred he had drawn upon himſelf, made overtures of peace, in order to ſoften their reſentments. Phocion, little ſuſpicious, and apprehenſive of the uncertainty of military events, was of opinion that the Athenians ſhould accept his offers. But Demoſthenes, who had ſtudied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and was perſuaded, that, according to his uſual cuſtom, his only view was to amuſe and impoſe upon the Athenians, prevented their liſtening to his pacific propoſals.

[z] It was very much the intereſt of this prince to terminate immediately a war which gave him great cauſe of diſquiet, and particularly diſtreſſed him by the frequent depredations of the Athenian privateers, who infeſted the ſea bordering upon his dominions. They entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his ſubjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries; or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandiſe it wanted, Philip was ſenſible that it would be impoſſible for him to put an end to this war, and free himſelf from the inconveniencies attending it, but by exciting the Theſſalians and Thebans to break with Athens. He could not yet attack that city, with any advantage, either by ſea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to thoſe of that republic; and the paſſage by land to Attica would be ſhut againſt him, as long as the Theſſalians ſhould refuſe to join him, and the Thebans ſhould oppoſe his paſſage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war againſt Athens, he ſhould aſcribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very ſenſible that it would have no effect with either of the ſtates: But that in caſe he could once prevail with them to appoint him their chief, upon the ſpecious pretence of eſpouſing their common cauſe, he then hoped it would be eaſier for him to make them acquieſce with his deſires, either by perſuaſion or deceit.

This was his aim; the ſmalleſt traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the leaſt opportunity for any one to ſuſpect the deſign he meditated. In every

[z] Demoſth. pro Ctef. 497, 498.

city he retained penſioners, who ſent him notice of whatever paſſed, and by that means were of great uſe to him; and were accordingly well paid. By their machinations he raiſed diviſions among the Azolae of Locris, otherwiſe called the Locrians of Amphiſſa, from their capital city: Their country was ſituated between Ætolia and Phocis; and they were accuſed of having profaned a ſpot of ſacred ground, by ploughing up the Cirhean field, which lay very near the temple of Delphos. The reader has ſeen that a like cauſe of complaint occaſioned the firſt ſacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphictyons. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or ſuſpicious agent, he plainly ſaw that the Thebans and the Theſſalians would infallibly ſuſpect his deſign; in which caſe all parties would not fail to ſtand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his deſigns by perſons in the dark, which entirely prevented their taking air. By the aſſiduity of his penſioners in Athens, he had cauſed Æſchines, who was entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the Pylagori, by which name thoſe were called who were ſent by the ſeveral Greek cities to the aſſembly of the Amphictyons. The inſtant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip, as a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly againſt this prince, was leſs ſuſpected. Upon his remonſtrances, a deſcent was appointed, in order to viſit the ſpot of ground, of which the Amphiſſians had hitherto been conſidered as the lawful poſſeſſors; but which they now were accuſed of uſurping, by a moſt ſacrilegious act.

Whilſt the Amphictyons were viſiting the ſpot of ground in queſtion, the Locrians fall upon them unawares, pour in a ſhower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage drew reſentment and war upon theſe Locrians. Cottyphus, one of the Amphictyons, took the field with the army intended to puniſh the rebels; but many not coming to the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following aſſembly of the Amphictyons, the affair was debated very ſeriouſly. It was there Æſchines exerted all his eloquence, and, by a ſtudied oration, proved to the deputies or repreſentatives,

either that they must assess themselves to support foreign soldiers and punish the rebels, or else elect Philip for their general. The deputies, to save their commonwealth the expence, and secure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, resolved the latter. Upon which, by a public decree, "ambassadors were sent to Philip of Macedon, who, in the name "of Apollo and the Amphictyons, implore his assistance; be-"seech him not to neglect the cause of that god, which the "impious Amphissians make their sport; and notify to him, "that for this purpose all the Greeks, of the council of the "Amphictyons, elect him for their general, with full power "to act as he shall think proper."

This was the honour to which Philip had long aspired, the aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had set at work till that time. He therefore did not lose a moment, but immediately assembles his forces, and marches, by a feint, towards the Cirrhaean field, forgetting now both the Cirrhaeans and Locrians, who had only served as a specious pretext for his journey, and for whom he had not the least regard; he possessed himself of Elataea, the greatest city in Phocis, standing on the river Cephissus; and the most happily situated for the design he meditated, of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their eyes, and to perceive the danger they were in.

[a] This news being brought to Athens in the evening, spread a terror through every part of it. The next morning an assembly was summoned, when the herald, as was the usual custom, cries with a loud voice, "Who among you will ascend "the tribunal?" [b] However, no person appears for that purpose; upon which he repeated the invitation several times; but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were present, and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured somebody to propose a salutary counsel: For, says Demosthenes, from whom these particulars are taken, whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be considered as the voice of the country. During this genereral silence, occasioned by the universal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were seized,

[a] Demosth. pro. Ctes. p. 501—504. [b] Diod. l. xvi. p. 474—477.

Demoſthenes, animated at the ſight of the great danger his fellow citizens were in, aſcends the tribunal for harangues, and endeavours to revive the drooping Athenians, and inſpire them with ſentiments ſuitable to the preſent conjuncture, and the neceſſities of the ſtate. Excelling equally in politics and eloquence, by the extent of his ſuperior genius, he immediately forms a council, which includes all that was neceſſary for the Athenians to act both at home and abroad, by land as well as by ſea.

The people of Athens were under a double error with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavours to ſhew. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from intereſt and inclination, to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare againſt that monarch; and that the conqueſt of Elataea has appriſed them of what they are to expect from him. On the other ſide, they looked upon the Thebans as their moſt ancient and moſt dangerous enemies; and therefore could not prevail with themſelves to afford them the leaſt aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It muſt be confeſſed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which roſe ſo high, that Pindar was ſentenced by the Thebans to pay a conſiderable fine, for having † applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demoſthenes, notwithſtanding that prejudice had taken ſuch deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour; and proves to the Athenians, that their own intereſt lies at ſtake; and that they could not pleaſe Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free paſſage to Athens.

Demoſthenes afterwards diſcovers to them the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then is his deſign, and wherefore "did he poſſeſs himſelf of Elatæa? He is deſirous, on one "ſide, to encourage thoſe of his faction in Thebes, and to in-

† He had called Athens a flouriſhing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece. Λίταρχι καὶ Λείδιμι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλεινὰι Ἀθῆναι. But the Athenians not only indemnified the poet, and ſent him money to pay his fine, but even erected a ſtatue in honour of him.

" ſpire them with greater boldneſs, by appearing at the head " of his army, and advancing his power and forces around " that city. On the other ſide, he would ſtrike unexpectedly " the oppoſite faction, and ſtun them in ſuch a manner, as may " enable him to get the better of it either by terror or force. " Philip," ſays he, " preſcribes the manner in which you " ought to act, by the example he himſelf ſets you. Aſſem- " ble, under Eleuſis, a body of Athenians, of an age fit for " ſervice; and ſupport theſe by your cavalry. By this ſtep " you will ſhew all Greece, that you are ready armed to de- " fend yourſelves; and inſpire your partiſans in Thebes with " ſuch reſolution, as may enable them both to ſupport their " reaſons, and to make head againſt the oppoſite party, when " they ſhall perceive, that as thoſe who ſell their country to " Philip, have forces in Elataea ready to aſſiſt them upon oc- " caſion; in like manner thoſe who were willing to fight for " the preſervation of their own liberties, have you at their " gates ready to defend them in caſe of an invaſion." Demoſthenes added, that it would be proper for them to ſend ambaſſadors immediately to the different ſtates of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage them in a common league againſt Philip.

This prudent and ſalutary counſel was followed in every particular; and in conſequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the ſeveral enterpriſes by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus: " For this " reaſon the ſenate and people of Athens, calling to mind the " magnanimity of their anceſtors, who preferred the liberty of " Greece to the ſafety of their own country, have reſolved, " that after offering up prayers and ſacrifices, to call down the " aſſiſtance of the tutelar gods and demi-gods of Athens and " Attica, two hundred ſail of ſhips ſhall be put to ſea. That " the admiral of their fleet ſhall go, as ſoon as poſſible, and " cruiſe on the other ſide of the paſs of Thermopylae; at the " ſame time that the land generals, at the head of a conſider- " able body of horſe and foot, ſhall march and encamp in the " neighbourhood of Eleuſis. That ambaſſadors ſhall likewiſe

" be ſent to the other Greeks; but firſt to the Thebans, as " theſe are moſt threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted " not to dread Philip in any manner, but to maintain coura- " geouſly their particular independence, and the common li- " berty of all Greece. And let it be declared to them, that " though formerly ſome motives of diſcontent might have " cooled the reciprocal friendſhip between them and us, the " Athenians, however, obliterating the remembrance of paſt " tranſactions, will now aſſiſt them with men, money, darts, " and all kind of military weapons; perſuaded, that ſuch as " are natives of Greece may very honourably diſpute with " one another for pre-eminence; but that they can never, " without ſullying the glory of the Greeks, and derogating " from the virtue of their anceſtors, ſuffer a foreigner to de- " ſpoil them of that pre-eminence, nor conſent to ſo ignomi- " nious a ſlavery."

[c] Demoſthenes, who was at the head of this embaſſy, immediately ſet out for Thebes; and indeed, he had no time to loſe, ſince Philip might reach Attica in two days. This prince alſo ſent Ambaſſadors to Thebes. Among theſe * Python was the chief, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly by his lively perſuaſive eloquence, which it was ſcarce poſſible to withſtand; ſo that the reſt of the deputies were mere novices in compariſon to him: However, he here met with a ſuperior. [d] And indeed, Demoſthenes, in an oration, where he relates the ſervices he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very ſtrongly on this, and places the happy ſucceſs of ſo important a negotiation at the head of his political exploits.

[c] It was of the utmoſt importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica, and covered it; had troops excellently well diſciplined, and had been conſidered, from the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, among the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, as thoſe

[c] Plut. in Demoſth. p. 853, 854.

[d] Demoſth. in orat. pro Coron. p. 509. [c] Ibid.

* This Python was of Byzantium. The Athenians had preſented him with the freedom of their city; after which he went over to Philip. Demoſth. p. 193, 745.

who held the firſt rank for valour and ability of war. To effect this was no eaſy matter; not only becauſe of the great ſervice Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocis, but likewiſe becauſe of the ancient inveterate antipathy of Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies ſpoke firſt. Theſe diſplayed in the ſtrongeſt light, the kindneſſes with which Philip had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them ſuffer. They repreſented to the utmoſt advantage, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waſte, the flocks, goods and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Boeotia would thereby become the ſeat of war, and would alone ſuffer the loſſes, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable conſequences of it. They concluded with requeſting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with thoſe of Philip againſt the Athenians; or, at leaſt, permit him to paſs through their territories to enter Attica.

The love of his country, and a juſt indignation at the breach of faith and uſurpations of Philip, had already ſufficiently animated Demoſthenes: But the ſight of an orator, who ſeemed to diſpute with him the ſuperiority of eloquence, inflamed his zeal, and heightened his vivacity ſtill more. To the captious arguments of Python he oppoſed the actions themſelves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elataea, which evidently diſcovered his deſigns. He repreſented him as a reſtleſs, enterpriſing, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the deſign of enſlaving all Greece; but who, to ſucceed the better in his ſchemes, was determined to attack the different ſtates of it ſingly: A prince, whoſe pretended beneficence was only a ſnare for the credulity of thoſe who did not know him, in order to diſarm thoſe whoſe zeal for the public liberty might be an obſtacle to his enterpriſes. He proved to them, that the conqueſt of Attica, ſo far from ſatiating the immeaſurable avidity of this uſurper, would only give him an opportunity of ſubjecting Thebes, and the reſt of the cities of Greece. That therefore the intereſts of the two commonwealths being

henceforward inſeparable, they ought to eraſe entirely the remembrance of their former diviſions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

[f] The Thebans were not long in determining. The ſtrong eloquence of Demoſthenes, ſays an hiſtorian, blowing into their ſouls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there ſo warm a zeal for their country, and ſo mighty a paſſion for liberty, that, baniſhing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence or gratitude, his diſcourſe tranſported rand raviſhed them like a fit of enthuſiaſm, and inflamed them ſolely with the love of true glory. Here we have a proof of the mighty aſcendant which eloquence has over the minds of men, eſpecially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the public good. One ſingle man ſwayed all things at his will in the aſſemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, reſpected, and feared.

Philip, quite diſconcerted by the union of theſe two nations, ſent ambaſſadors to the Athenians, to requeſt them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too juſtly alarmed and exaſperated to liſten to any accommodation; and would no longer depend upon the word of a prince whoſe whole aim was to deceive. In conſequence, preparations for war were made with the utmoſt diligence; and the ſoldiery diſcovered incredible ardor. However, many evil-diſpoſed perſons endeavoured to extinguiſh or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the prieſteſs of Delphos was ſaid to have uttered: But Demoſthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who deſired only to march againſt the enemy, would not ſuffer them to be amuſed with theſe oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occaſion he ſaid, that the prieſteſs philippized, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inſpired the prieſteſs, opened her mouth, and made the god ſpeak whatever ſhe thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who conſidered theſe oracles

[f] Theopom. apud Plut. in vit. Demoſth. p. 854.

and predictions as idle ſcare-crows, and conſulted only their reaſon. The Athenian army ſet out immediately, and marched to Eleuſis; and the Thebans, ſurpriſed at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on the other ſide, not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, aſſembles all his forces, and enters Boeotia. This army conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe: That of his enemy was not quite ſo numerous. The valour of the troops might have been ſaid to have been equal on both ſides; but the merit of the chiefs was not ſo. And indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his ſuperiors. Phocion, indeed, might have oppoſed him; but not to mention that this war had been undertaken againſt his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed generals, Chares, univerſally deſpiſed, and Lyſicles, diſtinguiſhed for nothing but his raſh and daring audacity. It is the choice of ſuch leaders as theſe, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of ſtates.

The two armies encamped near Chaeronea, a city of Boeotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his ſon Alexander, who was then but ſixteen or ſeventeen years old, having poſted his ableſt officers near him; and took the command of the right wing upon himſelf. In the oppoſite army, the Thebans formed the right wing, and the Athenians the left.

At ſun-riſe, the ſignal was given on both ſides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both ſides exerting themſelves with aſtoniſhing valour and bravery. Alexander, at that time, animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavouring to ſignalize himſelf, in order to anſwer the confidence his father repoſed in him, under whoſe eye he fought, in quality of a commander, for the firſt time, diſcovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a

veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, the Sacred Battalion of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The reſt of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his ſon, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they ſoon reſumed their courage, and recovered their firſt poſt. [g] Lyſicles, one of the two generals, having broke into ſome troops which formed the centre of the Macedonians, imagined himſelf already victorious; and in that raſh confidence cried out, "Come on, my "lads; let us purſue them into Macedonia." Philip, perceiving that the Athenians, inſtead of ſeizing the advantage of taking his phalanx in flank, purſued his troops too vigorouſly, cried out with a calm tone of voice, "The Athenians do not "know how to conquer." Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence; and perceiving that the Athenians, in diſorder, were wholly intent on purſuing thoſe they had broke, he charged them with his phalanx; and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demoſthenes, who was a greater ſtateſman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholeſome counſel in his harangues, than of ſupporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms and fled with the reſt. [h] It is even ſaid, that in his flight his robe being catched by a bramble, he imagined that ſome of the enemy had laid hold of him, and cried out, "Spare my life." More than a thouſand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thouſand taken priſoners, among whom was Demades the orator. The loſs was as great on the Theban ſide.

Philip, after having ſet up a trophy, and offered to the gods a ſacrifice of thanſgiving for his victory, diſtributed rewards to the officers and ſoldiers, each according to his merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory ſhews, that it is much eaſier

[g] Polyæn. Strateg. l. iv. [h] Plut. in vit. decem. orat. p. 845.

to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one's ſelf, and triumph over one's own paſſions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment, which he had given his officers, being equally tranſported with joy and the fumes of wine, he hurried to the ſpot where the battle had been fought; and there, inſulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a ſong the beginning of the decree which Demoſthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war: and ſung thus, himſelf beating time, "Demoſthenes the Peanian, ſon "of Demoſthenes, has ſaid." Every body was ſhocked to ſee the king diſhonour himſelf by this behaviour, and ſully his glory by an action ſo unworthy a king and a conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whoſe ſoul was free though his body was a priſoner, was the only perſon who ventured to make him ſenſible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him, "Ah, Sir, ſince fortune has given you "the part of Agamemnon, are you not aſhamed to act that "of Therſites?" Theſe words, ſpoke with ſo generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and made him turn them inward: And, ſo far from being diſpleaſed with Demades, he eſteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmoſt reſpect and friendſhip, and conferred all poſſible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip ſeemed quite changed, both in his diſpoſition and behaviour, as if, ſays * an hiſtorian, the converſation of Demades had ſoftened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attic graces. He diſmiſſed all the Athenian captives without any ranſom, and gave the greateſt part of them clothes; with the view of acquiring the confidence of ſo powerful a commonwealth as Athens by that kind of treatment: In which, ſays Polybius [i], he gained a ſecond triumph, more glorious for himſelf, and even more advantageous than the firſt; for in the battle, his courage had prevailed over none but thoſe who were preſent in it; but on this occaſion, his kindneſs and clemency acquired him a whole city, and ſubjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the ancient treaty of friendſhip and alli-

i. Polyb. l. v. p. 359

* Ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημάδου καθομιληθέντας ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς χάρισι. Diod.

ance, and granted the Boeotians a peace, after having left a ſtrong garriſon in Thebes.

[k] We are told that Iſocrates, the moſt celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmoſt tenderneſs, could not ſurvive the loſs and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loſs of the battle of Chaeronea. The inſtant he received the news of it, being uncertain what uſe Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he haſtened his end by abſtaining from food. He was fourſcore and eighteen years of age. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere of his ſtile and of his works.

Demoſthenes ſeemed to have been the principal cauſe of the terrible ſhock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power ſuch a wound, as it never recovered. [l] But at the very inſtant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected ſo great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, ſeized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal, againſt the man whom they might have conſidered in ſome meaſure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very inſtant, I ſay, the people ſubmitted entirely to the counſels of Demoſthenes. The precautions that were taken to poſt guards, to raiſe the walls, and to repair the foſſés, were all in conſequence of his advice. He himſelf was appointed to ſupply the city with proviſions, and to repair the walls; which latter commiſſion he executed with ſo much generoſity, that it acquired him the greateſt honour; and for which, at the requeſt of Cteſiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having preſented the commonwealth with a ſum of money out of his own eſtate, ſufficient to defray what was wanting of the ſums for repairing the walls.

On the preſent occaſion, that is, after the battle of Chaeronea, ſuch orators as oppoſed Demoſthenes, having all riſen up in concert againſt him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the ſeveral accuſations laid to his charge, but conferred more

[k] Plut. in Iſocr. p. 887.

[l] Demoſth. pro Ctef p. 514. Plut. in Demoſth. p. 852.

honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; ſo ſtrongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

The Athenians, a fickle wavering people, and apt to puniſh their own errors and omiſſions in the perſon of thoſe whoſe projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reaſon but becauſe they had executed them too ſlowly, in thus crowning Demoſthenes, in the midſt of a public calamity which he alone ſeemed to have brought upon them, pay the moſt glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wiſe and brave conduct, they ſeem in ſome meaſure to confeſs their own error, in not having followed his counſel neither fully nor early enough; and to confeſs themſelves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

[m] But the people did not ſtop here. The bones of ſuch as had been killed in the battle of Chearonea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demoſthenes to compoſe the eulogium of thoſe brave men; a manifeſt proof that they did not aſcribe to him the ill ſucceſs of the battle, but to Providence only, who diſpoſes of human events at pleaſure; a circumſtance which was expreſsly mentioned in the inſcription engraved on the monument of thoſe illuſtrious deceaſed warriors.

> This earth entombs to thoſe victims to the ſtate
> Who fell a glorious ſacrifice to zeal.
> Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant-chains,
> Did, by their deaths alone, eſcape the yoke.
> This Jupiter decreed: No effort, mortals,
> Can ſave you from the mighty will of fate.
> To gods alone belongs the attribute
> Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.

[n] Demoſthenes oppoſed Æſchines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occaſioned the loſs of the battle in queſtion, with this ſolid anſwer: "Cenſure me," ſays he, "for "the counſels I give; but do not calumniate me for the ill "ſucceſs of them. For it is the ſupreme being who conducts "and terminates all things; whereas it is from the nature of

[m] Plut. in Demoſt. p. 855. Demoſt. pro Ctef. 519, 520.
[n] Ibid. p. 505.

" the counſel itſelf that we are to judge of the intention of " him who offers it. If therefore the event has declared in " favour of Philip, impute it not to me as a crime, ſince it is " God and not myſelf, who diſpoſed of the victory. But if " you can prove that I did not exert myſelf with probity, vi- " gilance, and an activity indefatigable, and ſuperior to my " ſtrength: If with theſe I did not ſeek, I did not employ e- " very method which human prudence could ſuggeſt; and did " nor inſpire the moſt neceſſary and noble reſolutions, ſuch as " were truly worthy of Athenians; ſhew me this, and then " give what ſcope you pleaſe to your accuſations."

[o] He afterwards uſes the bold, ſublime figure following, which is looked upon as the moſt beautiful paſſage in his oration, and is ſo highly applauded by Longinus [p]. Demoſthenes endeavours to juſtify his own conduct, and prove to the Athenians, that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not ſatisfied with merely citing in a frigid manner the example of the great men who had fought for the ſame cauſe in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Plataea: No, he makes a quite different uſe of them, ſays this rhetorician; and on a ſudden, as if inſpired by ſome god, and poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of Apollo himſelf, cries out, ſwearing by thoſe brave defenders of Greece: " No, Athenians! you have " not erred. I ſwear by thoſe illuſtrious men who fought on " land at Marathon and Plataea; at ſea before Salamis and " Artemiſium; and all thoſe who have been honoured by the " commonwealth with the ſolemn rites of burial; and not " thoſe only who have been crowned with ſucceſs, and came " off victorious. Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pathetic manner of affirming by oaths of ſo extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in ſome meaſure, thoſe ancient citizens; and makes all who die in the ſame glorious manner ſo many gods, by whoſe names it is proper to ſwear?

I have already obſerved in another place, how naturally apt

[o] Demoſth. pro Ctef. p. 508.
[p] Longin. de Sublim. c. xiv.

theſe * orations, ſpoken in a moſt ſolemn manner, to the glory of thoſe who loſt their lives in fighting for the cauſe of liberty, were to inſpire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm deſire to ſignalize themſelves in battle.

[q] Another ceremony obſerved with regard to the children of thoſe whoſe fathers died in the bed of honour, was no leſs efficacious to inſpire them with the love of virtue. In a celebrated feſtival, in which ſhews were exhibited to the whole people, an herald came upon the ſtage, and producing the young orphans dreſſed in complete armour, he ſaid with a loud voice: "Theſe young orphans, whom an untimely death in "the midſt of dangers has deprived of their illuſtrious fa- "thers, have found in the people a parent, who has taken "care of them till no longer in a ſtate of infancy. And now "they ſend them back, armed cap-a-pee, to follow, under the "moſt happy auſpices, their own affairs; and invite each of "them to emulate each other in deſerving the chief employ- "ments of the ſtate." By ſuch methods martial bravery, the love of one's country, and a taſte for virtue and ſolid glory, are perpetuated in a ſtate.

It was the very year of the battle of Chaeronea, and two years before the death of Philip, that Æſchines drew up an accuſation againſt Cteſiphon, or rather againſt Demoſthenes: But the cauſe was not pleaded till ſeven or eight years after, about the fifth or ſixth year of the reign of Alexander. I ſhall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the hiſtory of the life and actions of that prince.

No cauſe ever excited ſo much curioſity, nor was pleaded with ſo much pomp. † People flocked to it from all parts, ſays Cicero: and they had great reaſon for ſo doing; for what

[q] Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 452.

* Demoſthenes, in his oration againſt Leptinus, p. 562. obſerves, that the Athenians were the only people who cauſed funeral orations to be ſpoken in honour of ſuch perſons, as had loſt their lives in the defence of their country.

† Ad quod judicium concurſus dicitur e tota Graecia factum eſſe. Quid enim aut tam viſendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quam ſummorum oratorum, in graviſſima cauſa, accurata et inimicitiis incenſa, contentio? Cicer. de opt. gen. orat. n. 22

fight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way; both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual diſſentions, and an implacable animoſity againſt each other?

Theſe two orations have always been conſidered as the maſter-pieces of antiquity, eſpecially that of Demoſthenes. [r] Cicero had tranſlated the latter, a ſtrong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it. Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that performance is now extant, which ſuffices to make us very much regret the loſs of the reſt.

Amidſt the numberleſs beauties which are conſpicuous in every part of theſe two orations, methinks there appears, if I may be allowed to cenſure the writings of ſuch great men, a conſiderable error, that very much leſſens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of ſolid, juſt eloquence; and that is, the groſs injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The ſame objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations againſt Anthony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of groſs, opprobrious expreſſions, were the very reverſe of ſolid eloquence; and indeed every ſpeech which is dictated by paſſion and revenge, never fails of being ſuſpected by thoſe who judge of it; whereas an oration that is ſtrong and invincible from reaſon and argument, and which at the ſame time is conducted with reſerve and moderation, wins the heart, whilſt it informs the underſtanding; and perſuades no leſs by the eſteem it inſpires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture ſeemed to favour Æſchines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, eſpecially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheleſs, Æſchines loſt his cauſe, and was juſtly ſentenced to baniſhment for his raſh accuſation. He thereupon went and ſettled himſelf in Rhodes, where he opened a ſchool of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occaſioned his baniſhment. Great encomiums were given to that

[r] De opt. gen. orat.

of Æſchines; but when they heard that of Demoſthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled: And it was then he ſpoke theſe words, ſo greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival; "But what applauſes would you not have "beſtowed, had you heard Demoſthenes ſpeak it himſelf!"

To conclude, the victor made a good uſe of his conqueſt: For the inſtant Æſchines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demoſthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purſe of money; which muſt have obliged him ſo much the more, as he had leſs room to expect ſuch an offer. On this occaſion Æſchines cried out: * How will it be poſſible for "me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more "generous than I can hope to find friends in any other part "of the world!"

SECTION VII.

PHILIP declared GENERALISSIMO of the GREEKS againſt the PERSIANS. His DEATH.

THE battle of Chaeronea[r] may be ſaid to have enſlaved Greece. Macedon at that time, with no more than thirty thouſand ſoldiers, gained a point, which Perſia, with millions of men, had attempted unſucceſsfully at Plataea, at Salamis, and at Marathon. Philip, in the firſt years of his reign, had repulſed, divided, and diſarmed his enemies. In the ſucceeding ones, he had ſubjected, by artifice or force, the moſt powerful ſtates of Greece, and had made himſelf its arbiter; but now he prepares to revenge the injuries which Greece had received from the Barbarians, and meditates no leſs a deſign, than the deſtruction of their empire. [s] The greateſt advantage he gained by his laſt victory, and this was the object he long had in view, and never loſt ſight of, was to get himſelf appointed, in the aſſembly of the Greeks, their generaliſſimo againſt the Perſians. In this quality he made preparations, in order to in-

[r] A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.
[s] Diod. l. xvi. p. 479.

* Some authors aſcribe theſe words to Demoſthenes, when, three years after, he met with the ſame fate as Æſchines, and was alſo baniſhed from Athens.

vade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Attalus and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them set out for Asia Minor.

[t] But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneasiness at home; division and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, choleric and vindictive, raised dissentions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out of love with life. Not to mention, that as he himself had defiled the marriage-bed, it is said, that his consort had repaid his infidelity in kind. But whether he had a just subject of complaint, or was grown weary of Olympias, it is certain he proceeded so far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been disgusted upon several other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whose beauty was so exquisite, that he could not resist its charms. In the midst of their rejoicings upon occasion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by the mother's side, took it into his head to say, that the Macedonians ought to beseech the gods to give them a lawful successor to their king. Upon this Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exasperated at these injurious words, cried out, "Wretch that thou art, "dost thou then take me for a bastard?" And at the same time flung the cup at his head. Attalus returned the compliment; upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who sat at another table, was very much offended to see the feast interrupted in this manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his sword, and ran directly at his son. Happily the father fell, so that the guests had an opportunity of stepping in between them. The greatest difficulty was, to keep Alexander from rushing upon his ruin. Exasperated at a succession of such heinous affronts, in spite of all the guests could say, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his sovereign, he vented his resentment in the bitter words follow-

[t] Plut. in Alex. p. 664.

ing: "The Macedonians, indeed, have a captain there, vaſtly "able to croſs from Europe into Aſia; he, who cannot ſtep "from one table to another without running the hazard of "breaking his neck!" After theſe words, he left the hall, and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been ſo highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himſelf went over to the Illyrians.

In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was engaged to Philip by the ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the firſt civilities and careſſes were over, Philip aſked him whether the Greeks were in amity? "It indeed becomes you, "Sir," replied Demaratus, "to be concerned about Greece, "who have filled your own houſe with feuds and diſſentions." The prince, ſenſibly affected with this reproach, came to himſelf, acknowledged his error, and ſent Demaratus to Alexander, to perſuade him to return home.

[u] Philip did not loſe ſight of the conqueſt of Aſia. Full of the mighty project he revolved, he conſults the gods to know what would be the event of it. The prieſteſs replied, "The "victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will "ſoon be ſacrificed." Philip hearing this, did not heſitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour; the ambiguity of which ought at leaſt to have kept him in ſome ſuſpence. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition againſt the Perſians, and devote himſelf ſolely to the conqueſt of Aſia, he diſpatches with all poſſible diligence his domeſtic affairs. After this, he offers up a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods; and prepares to celebrate, with incredible magnificence, in Egae, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the moſt conſiderable perſons of Greece; and heaped upon them friendſhips and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generaliſſimo of the Grecks. The cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by ſending him gold crowns;

[u] A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 338.

and Athens diſtinguiſhed its zeal above all the reſt. Neoptolemus the poet had written purpoſely for that feſtival, a tragedy *, intitled Cinyras, in which, under borrowed names, he repreſented this prince as already victor over Darius, and maſter of Aſia. Philip liſtened to theſe happy preſages with joy; and, comparing them with the anſwer of the oracle, aſſured himſelf of conqueſt. The day after the nuptials, games and ſhews were ſolemnized. As theſe formed part of the religious worſhip, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve ſtatues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A thirteenth, that ſurpaſſed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which repreſented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived; and he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majeſty, in the midſt of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a conſiderable ſpace between themſelves and him, to give the ſpectators a better opportunity of ſurveying him; and alſo to ſhew that he conſidered the affections which the Grecians bore him, as his ſafeſt guard.

But all the feſtivity and pomp of theſe nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his refuſal to do an act of juſtice, that occaſioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had inſulted, in the moſt ſhocking manner, Pauſanias, a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's juſtice. But Philip, unwilling to diſguſt Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before obſerved, he had married after his divorcing Olympias his firſt queen, would never liſten to Pauſanias's complaints. However, to conſole him in ſome meaſure, and to expreſs the high eſteem he had for, and the great confidence he repoſed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of

* Suetonius, among the preſages of Caligula's death, who died in much the ſame manner as Philip, obſerves, that Mnetler the Pantomime, exhibited the ſame piece which Neoptolemus had repreſented the very day Philip was murdered.

his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury against his judge, he forms the design of wiping out his shame, by imbruing his hands in a most horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is vastly strong and formidable. Pausanias, the better to put his bloody design in execution, chose the instant of that pompous ceremony, when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtless to make his vengeance more conspicuous, and proportion it to the injury for which he conceived he had a right to make the king responsible, as he had long solicited that prince in vain for the satisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the great space which his guards left round him, he advances forwards, stabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. Diodorus observes, that he was assassinated the very instant his statue entered the theatre. The assassin had prepared horses ready for his escape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which stopped him, and gave the pursuers time to overtake him. Pausanias was immediately torn to pieces upon the spot. [u] Thus died Philip, at forty-seven years of age, after having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, died also the same year.

Demosthenes had private notice sent him of Philip's death; and in order to prepare the Athenians to resume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and said, That the night before he had a dream, which promised some great felicity to the Athenians. A little after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death; on which occasion the people abandoned themselves to the transports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demosthenes had particularly inspired them with these sentiments; for he himself appeared in public, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and dressed with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but seven days. He also engaged the Athenians to offer sacrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Pausanias, who had committed the murder.

[u] A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 440.

On this occaſion, Demoſthenes and the Athenians acted quite out of character; and we can ſcarce conceive how it came to paſs, that, in ſo deteſtable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at leaſt, did not induce them to diſſemble ſuch ſentiments as reflected diſhonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which ſhewed, that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their minds.

SECTION VIII.

Memorable ACTIONS and SAYINGS of PHILIP. Good and bad QUALILIES of that PRINCE.

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expreſſions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their moſt ſhining actions; becauſe in the latter they generally ſtudy their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propoſe themſelves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they ſpeak and act from nature, they exhibit themſelves ſuch as they really are, without art and diſguiſe. M. de Tourreil has collected with ſufficient induſtry moſt of the memorable actions and ſayings of Philip; and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connection, in the recital of theſe detached actions and ſayings.

Though Philip loved flattery, ſo far as to reward the adulation of Thraſideus with the title of king in Theſſaly, he however at ſome intervals loved truth. He permitted [x] Ariſtotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his ſervice to tell him every day, before he gave audience, "Philip, remember thou art mortal."

[y] He * diſcovered great moderation, even when he was ſpok-

[x] Ariſt. Epiſt. Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177. Ælian. lib. viii. c. 15.
[y] Senec. de Ira. l. iii. c. 23.

* Si quae alia in Philippo virtus, fuit et contumeliarum patientia ingens inſtrumentum ad tutelam regni.

en to in ſhocking and injurious terms; and alſo, which is no leſs worthy of admiration, when truth was told him; a great quality, ſays Seneca, in kings, and highly conducive to the happineſs of their reign. At the cloſe of an audience, which he gave to ſome Athenian ambaſſadors who were come to complain of ſome act of hoſtility, he aſked, whether he could do them any ſervice? "The greateſt ſervice thou couldſt do us," ſaid Democharés, "would be to hang thyſelf." Philip, though he perceived all the perſons preſent were highly offended at theſe words, however, made the following anſwer, with the utmoſt calmneſs of temper: "Go, tell your ſuperiors, that "thoſe who dare make uſe of ſuch inſolent language, are "more haughty, and leſs peaceably inclined, than they who "can forgive them."[z]

[z] Being preſent, in an indecent poſture, at the ſale of ſome captives, one of them going up to him, whiſpered in his ear, "Let down the lappet of your robe;" upon which Philip replied, "Set the man at liberty; I did not know till now that "he was one of my friends."

[a] The whole court ſoliciting him to puniſh the ingratitude of the Peloponneſians, who had hiſſed him publicly in the Olympic games; "What won't they attempt," replied Philip, "ſhould I do them any injury, ſince the laugh at me, after "having received ſo many favours at my hand?"

[b] His courtiers adviſing him to drive from him a certain perſon who ſpake ill of him; "Yes, indeed," ſays he, "and ſo he'll "go and ſpeak injuriouſly of me every where." Another time, that they adviſed him to diſmiſs a man of probity, who had reproached him: "Let us firſt take care," ſays he, "that we have "not given him any reaſon to do ſo." Hearing afterwards that the perſon in queſtion was but in poor circumſtances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful to him; on which occaſion his reproaches were changed into applauſes, that occaſioned another fine ſaying of this prince's: "It is in the "power of kings to make themſelves beloved or hated."

[c] Being urged to aſſiſt, with the credit and authority he had with the judges, a perſon whoſe reputation would be quite loſt,

[z] Plut. [a] Ibid. [b] Plut in Apoyhth. [c] Plut.

by the ſentence which was going to be pronounced againſt him, "I had rather," ſaid he, "he ſhould loſe his reputation, than "I mine."

[d] Philip, riſing from an entertainment, at which he had ſat ſeveral hours, was addreſſed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cauſe, and to hear ſeveral reaſons ſhe had to allege which were not pleaſing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave ſentence againſt her; upon which ſhe replied very calmly, "I appeal." "How!" ſays Philip, "from your king?" "To whom then?" "To Philip when faſting," replied the woman. The manner in which he received this anſwer, would do honour to the moſt ſober prince. He afterwards gave the cauſe a ſecond hearing; found the injuſtice of his ſentence; and condemned himſelf to make it good.

[e] A poor woman uſed to appear often before him, to ſue for audience, and to beſeech him to put an end to her law-ſuit; but Philip always told her he had no time. Exaſperated at theſe refuſals, which had been ſo often repeated, ſhe replied one day with emotion; "If you have not time to do me juſ-"tice, be no longer king." Philip was ſtrongly affected with this rebuke, which a juſt indignation had extorted from this poor woman; and ſo far from being offended at it, he ſatisfied her that inſtant, and afterwards became more exact in giving audience. He indeed was ſenſible, that a king and a judge are the ſame thing; that the throne is a tribunal; that the ſovereign authority is a ſupreme power, and at the ſame time an indiſpenſable obligation to do juſtice; that to diſtribute it to his ſubjects, and to grant them the time neceſſary for that purpoſe, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt; that he ought to appoint perſons to aſſiſt him in this function, but not to diſcharge himſelf abſolutely from it; and that he was no leſs obliged to be a judge than a king. All theſe circumſtances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very wiſe expreſſion, "Be no longer king†;" and Philip comprehended all its force.

[d] Plut. [e] Ibid.

† Καὶ μὴ βασίλευε

[f] He underſtood raillery, was very fond of ſmart ſayings, and very happy at them himſelf. Having received a wound near the throat, and his ſurgeon importuning him daily with ſome new requeſt: "Take what thou wilt," ſays he, "for thou "haſt me by the throat."

[g] It is alſo related, that after hearing two villains, who accuſed each other of various crimes, he baniſhed the one, and ſentenced the other to follow him.

[h] Menecrates, the phyſician, who was ſo mad as to fancy himſelf Jupiter, wrote to Philip as follows: "Menecrates Ju- "piter to Philip greeting." Philip anſwered; "Philip to Me- "necrates health and reaſon *." But this king did not ſtop here; for he hit upon a pleaſant remedy for his viſionary correſpondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a ſeparate table at it, where nothing was ſerved up to him but incenſe and perfume, whilſt all the other gueſts fed upon the moſt exquiſite dainties. The firſt tranſports of joy with which he was ſeized, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man; but hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being ſo, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the company abruptly.

[i] Philip made an anſwer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime miniſter. That prince being one day reproached with devouring too many hours to ſleep; "I indeed "ſleep," ſays he, "but Antipater wakes."

[k] Parmenio, hearing the ambaſſadors of all Greece murmuring one day becauſe Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: "Do not wonder," ſays he, "if he ſleeps "whilſt you wake; for he waked whilſt you ſlept." By this he wittily reproached them for their ſupineneſs, in neglecting their intereſts, whilſt Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demoſthenes was perpetually obſerving to them with his uſual freedom.

[l] Every one of the ten tribes of Athens uſed to elect a new

[f] Plut. [g] Ibid. [h] Ælian. lib. xi. cap. 51. [i] Plut.
[k] Plut. [l] Ibid. in Apoph. p. 177.

* The Greek word ὑγιαίνειν ſignifies both theſe things.

general every year. Theſe did their duty by turns; and every general for the day commanded as generaliſſimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and ſaid, "In my whole "life I could never find but one general, Parmenio; whereas "the Atheniens can find ten every year, at the very inſtant "they want them."

The letter which Philip wrote to Ariſtotle on the birth of his ſon, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men; and at the ſame time, the taſte he himſelf had for the polite arts and ſciences; the other letters of his, which are ſtill extant, do him no leſs honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by few; and it is time to conſider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that M. de Tourreil is the author of moſt of the ſubſequent particulars; and that it is he who is going to give them the picture of King Philip.

It would be difficult to determine, whether this prince were more conſpicuous as a warrior or a ſtateſman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful enemies, he employed artifice and force alternately to defeat them. He uſes his endeavours with ſucceſs to divide his opponents: To ſtrike the ſurer, he eludes and diverts the blows which were aimed at himſelf; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuſe victory; as ready to purſue or wait for it, he either haſtens his pace or ſlackens it, as neceſſity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wiſdom; in fine, he is ever immoveable, ever fixed in the juſt bounds which divide boldneſs from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king who commands his allies as much as his own ſubjects, and is as formidable in treaties as in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own ſuperintendent, his own prime miniſter and generaliſſimo. We ſee him fired with an inſatiable thirſt of glory, ſearching for it where it is ſold at the deareſt price; making fatigue and danger his deareſt delights; forming inceſſantly that juſt, that ſpeedy harmony of reflection and action which military expe-

ditions require; and with all theſe advantages, turning the fury of his arms againſt commonwealths, exhauſted by long wars, torn by inteſtine diviſions, ſold by their own citizens, ſerved by a body of mercenary or undiſciplined troops; obſtinately deaf to good advice, and ſeemingly determined on their ruin.

He united in himſelf two qualities which are commonly found incompatible, viz. a ſteadineſs and calmneſs of ſoul that enabled him to weigh all things, in order to take advantage of every juncture, and to ſeize the favourable moment without being diſconcerted by diſappointments; this calmneſs, I ſay, was united with a reſtleſs activity, ardour and vivacity, which were regardleſs of the difference of ſeaſons, or the greateſt of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder, or more intrepid in fight. Demoſthenes, who cannot be ſuſpected to have flattered him, gives a glorious teſtimony of him on this head; for which reaſon I will cite his own words. [m] "I ſaw," ſays this orator, "this very Philip, with whom we diſputed for ſove-"reignty and empire; I ſaw him, though covered with wounds, "his eye ſtruck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed both in "his hands and feet, ſtill reſolutely ruſh into the midſt of "dangers, and ready to deliver up to fortune, any other part "of his body ſhe might deſire, provided he might live honour-"ably and gloriouſly with the reſt of it."

Philip was not only brave himſelf, but inſpired his whole army with the ſame valour. Inſtructed by able maſters in the ſcience of war, as the reader has ſeen, he had brought his troops to the moſt exact regular diſcipline; and trained up men capable of ſeconding him in his great enterpriſes. He had the art, without leſſening his own authority, to familiarize himſelf with his ſoldiers; and commanded rather as the father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever conſiſtent with diſcipline: And indeed, from his affability, which merited ſo much the greater ſubmiſſion and reſpect, as he required leſs, and ſeemed to diſpenſe with it, his ſoldiers were always ready to follow him to the greateſt dangers, and paid him the moſt implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater uſe of military ſtratagems

[m] Demoſth. pro Cteſ. p. 483.

than Philip. The dangers to which he had been expoſed in his youth. had taught him the neceſſity of precautions, and the art of reſourſes. A wiſe diffidence, which is of ſervice, as it ſhews danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irreſolute, but cautious and prudent. What reaſon ſoever he might have to flatter himſelf with the hope of ſucceſs, he never depended upon it; and thought himſelf ſuperior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever juſt in his projects, and inexhauſtible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful, in fixing upon proper junctures for the executing of his deſigns; and his dexterity in acting in an imperceptible manner no leſs admirable. Impenetrable as to his ſecrets, even to his beſt friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have obſerved, that he ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to lull the Athenians aſleep, by a ſpecious outſide of peace; and to lay ſilently the foundations of his grandeur, in their credulous ſecurity and blind indolence.

But theſe exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his exceſs in eating and carouſing, to which he abandoned himſelf with the utmoſt intemperance, he alſo has been reproached with the moſt diſſolute abandoned manners. We may form a judgment of this from thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, and the company which uſually frequented his palace. A ſet of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worſe than theſe, flatterers I mean, whom avarice and ambition draw in crowds round the great and powerful; ſuch were the people who had the greateſt ſhare in his confidence and bounty. Demoſthenes is not the only perſon who reproaches Philip with theſe frailties; for this might be ſuſpected in an enemy; but Theopompus [n], a famous hiſtorian, who had written the hiſtory of that prince in fifty-eight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a ſtill more diſadvantageous character of him. "Philip," ſays [o] he, "deſpiſed modeſty and regularity of life. He la-
"viſhed his eſteem and liberality on men abandoned to de-
"bauch and the laſt exceſſes of licentiouſneſs. He was pleaſed

[n] Diod. Sic. l. xvi p. 408.
[o] Theopom. apud Athen. l. vi. p. 260.

" to see the companions of his pleasures excel no less in the " abominable arts of injustice and malignity, than in the sci- " ence of debauchery. Alas! what species of infamy, what " sort of crimes did they not commit, &c."

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reflects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons; I mean his politics. He is considered as a prince of the greatest abilities in this art that ever lived: And, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated, and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarce seated on his throne, and surrounded on every side with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute, such a project as this? However, he did not once lose sight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies; in short, all things terminated there. He was very lavish of his gold and silver, merely to engage creatures in his service. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece; and by the assistance of pensioners, on whom he had settled very large stipends, he was informed very exactly of all the resolutions taken in them, and generally gave them the turn in his own favour. By this means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled asleep the vigilance of states, who till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wisest and most penetrating of all Greece. In treading in these steps for twenty years together, we see him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and subterraneous passages, the outlets of which only discover the design.

[p] Polyaenus shews us evidently the methods whereby he subjected Thessaly, which was of great advantage to the completing of his other designs. " He did not," says he, " carry on " an open war against the Thessalians; but took advantage of " the discord that divided the cities and the whole country " into different factions. He succoured those who sued for

[p] Polyæn. l. iv. c. 19.

" his aſſiſtance; and whenever he had conquered, he did not " entirely ruin the vanquiſhed; he did not diſarm them, nor " raze their walls; on the contrary, he protected the weakeſt, " and endeavoured to weaken and ſubject the ſtrongeſt; in a " word, he rather fomented than appeaſed their diviſions, " having in every place orators in his pay, thoſe artificers of " diſcord, thoſe firebrands of commonwealths. And it was " by theſe ſtratagems, not by his arms, that Philip ſubdued " Theſſaly."

[q] All this is a maſter-piece; a miracle in point of politics. But what engines does this art play; what methods does it employ to compaſs its deſigns? Deceit, craft, fraud, falſehood, perfidy, and perjury. Are theſe the weapons of virtue? We ſee in this prince a boundleſs ambition, conducted by an artful, inſinuating, ſubtile genius; but we do not find him poſſeſſed of the qualities which form the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his ſenſe juſt and lawful. He gave his word with a firm reſolution to break it; and made promiſes which he would have been very ſorry to keep. He thought himſelf ſkilful in proportion as he was perfidious, and made his glory conſiſt in deceiving all with whom he treated. [r] He did not bluſh to ſay, " That chil- " dren were amuſed with play-things, and men with oaths."

How ſhameful was it for a prince to be diſtinguiſhed by being more artful, a greater diſſembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave than any other perſon of his age, and to leave ſo infamous an idea of himſelf to all poſterity? What idea ſhould we form to ourſelves in the commerce of the world, of a man who ſhould value himſelf for tricking others, and rank inſincerity and fraud among virtues? Such a character in private life, is deteſted as the bane and ruin of ſociety. How then can it become an object of eſteem and admiration in princes and miniſters of ſtate, perſons who are bound by ſtronger ties than the reſt of men, becauſe of the eminence of their ſtations, and the importance of the employments they fill, to revere ſincerity, juſtice, and, above all, the ſanctity of treaties

[q] Demoſth. Olynth. ii. p. 22. [r] Ælian. l. vii. c. 12.

and oaths; to bind which, they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety? A bare promise among private persons ought to be sacred and inviolable, if they have the least sense of honour; but how much more ought it to be so among princes? "We are bound," says a celebrated writer*, "to speak truth to our neighbour; "for the use and application of speech implies a tacit promise "of truth; speech having been given us for no other purpose. "It is not a compact between one private man with another; "it is a common compact of mankind in general, and a kind "of right of nations, or rather a law of nature. Now, who-"ever tells an untruth, violates this law and common com-"pact." How greatly is the enormity of violating the sanctity of an oath increased, when we call upon the name of God to witness it, as is the custom always in treaties? "[s] Were "sincerity and truth banished from every other part of the "earth," said John I. king of France, upon his being solicited to violate a treaty, "they ought to be found in the hearts "and in the mouths of kings."

The circumstance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being persuaded that it is the only means to make a negociation succeed. But though this were the case, yet can it never be lawful to purchase such success at the expence of probity, honour, and religion? "[t] If your father-in-"law," Ferdinand the catholic, said Lewis XII. to Philip archduke of Austria, "has acted perfidiously, I am determin-"ed not to imitate him; and I am much more pleased in hav-"ing lost a kingdom, Naples, which I am able to recover, "than I should have been had I lost my honour, which can "never be recovered."

But those politicians, who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themselves, even in this very particular. I shall not have recourse to the Christian world for princes and ministers, whose notions of policy were very different from these. To go no farther than our Greek history, how many great men have we seen perfectly successful in the administration of pub-

[s] Mezerai. [t] Ibid.

* M. Nicole, on the epist. of the 19th sunday after Whitsuntide.

lic affairs, in treaties of peace and war; in a word, in the moſt important negotiations, without once making uſe of artifice and deceit? An Ariſtides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and ſo many more; ſome of whom were ſo very ſcrupulous in matters relating to truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falſhood, even laughing and in ſport. Cyrus, the moſt famous conqueror of the eaſt, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his ſubjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a truth, that no ſucceſs, how ſhining ſoever, can, or ought to cover the ſhame and ignominy which ariſe from breach of faith and perjury.

BOOK FIFTEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER.

PLAN.

I HAVE already obſerved, that the hiſtory of Alexander, compriſed in the following book, contains the ſpace of twelve years and eight months.

SECTION I.

ALEXANDER's BIRTH. ARISTOTLE appointed his PRECEPTOR. He breaks BUCEPHALUS.

ALEXANDER[a] came into the world the firſt year of the 106th Olympiad.

The very day he came into the world, the celebrated temple of Diana in Epheſus was burned. The reader knows, without doubt, that it was one of the ſeven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name, and at the expence of all Aſia Minor. A great number of years * were employed in building it. Its length was four hundred and twenty-five feet, and its breadth two hundred and twenty. It was ſupported by an hundred and twenty-ſeven columns, threeſcore feet high, which ſo many † kings had cauſed to be wrought at a great expence, and by the moſt excellent artiſts, who endeavoured to excel one another on this occaſion. The reſt of the temple was equal to the columns in magnificence.

[a] A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14.

* Pliny ſays two hundred and twenty years, which is not probable.

† Anciently, moſt cities were governed by their particular king.

[b] Hegeſias * of Magneſia, according to Plutarch, ſays, "That "it was no wonder the temple was burned, becauſe Diana was "that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate "the birth of Alexander." A reflection, ſays our author, ſo very † cold, that it might have extinguiſhed the fire. ‡ Cicero, who aſcribes this ſaying to Timaeus, declares it a very ſmart one, at which I am very much ſurpriſed. Poſſibly the fondneſs he had for jokes, made him not very delicate in things of this kind.

[c] One Heroſtratus had fired that temple on purpoſe. Being put to the torture, in order to force him to confeſs his motive for committing ſo infamous an action, he confeſſed that it was the view of making himſelf known to poſterity, and to immortalize his name, by deſtroying ſo noble a ſtructure. The ſtates general of Aſia imagined they ſhould prevent the ſucceſs of his view, by publiſhing a decree to prohibit the mention of his name. However, their prohibition only excited a greater curioſity; for ſcarce one of the hiſtorians of that age has omitted to mention ſo monſtrous an extravagance; and at the ſame time have told us the name of the criminal.

[d] The paſſion which prevailed moſt in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent deſire of glory; but not for every ſpecies of glory. Philip, like a ſophiſt, valued himſelf upon his eloquence and the beauty of his ſtile; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the ſeveral victories he had won at the Olympic games in the chariot-race. But it was not to this his ſon aſpired. His friends aſking him one day, whether he would not be preſent at the games above mentioned, in order to diſpute the prize beſtowed on that occaſion, for he was very ſwift of foot? He anſwered, "That he "would contend in them, provided kings were to be his an-"tagoniſts."

[b] Plut. in Alex. p. 665. [c] Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 14.
[d] Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 665—668. Id de fortun. Alex. p. 342.

* He was an hiſtorian, and lived in the time of Ptolemy, ſon of Lagus.

† I don't know whether Plutarch's reflection be not ſtill colder.

‡ Concinne, ut multa, Timaeus; qui, cum in hiſtoria dixiſſet, qua nocte natus Alexander eſſet, eadem Dianae Epheſiae templum deflagraviſſe, adjunxit: minime id eſſe mirandum, quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adeſſe voluiſſet, abfuiſſet domo. De Nat. Deor. l. ii. n. 69.

Every time news was brought him, that his father had taken ſome city, or gained ſome great battle, Alexander, ſo far from ſharing in the general joy, uſed to ſay in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young perſons that were brought up with him; "Friends, my father will poſſeſs himſelf of every thing, and "leave nothing for us to do."

One day ſome ambaſſadors from the king of Perſia being arrived at court during Philip's abſence, Alexander gave them ſo kind and ſo polite a reception, and regaled them in ſo noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which moſt ſurpriſed them was, the good ſenſe and judgment he diſcovered in the ſeveral converſations they had with him. He did not propoſe to them any thing that was trifling, and like one of his age; ſuch, for inſtance, as inquiring about the ſo much boaſted gardens ſuſpended in the air, the riches and magnificence of the palace and court of the king of Perſia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plantane tree; [e] and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all ſorts of precious ſtones, under which the Perſian monarch was ſaid frequently to give audience: Alexander, I ſay, aſked them queſtions of a quite different nature; inquiring which was the road to upper Aſia; the diſtance of the ſeveral places; in what the ſtrength and power of the king of Perſia conſiſted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies; and in what manner he governed his ſubjects. Theſe ambaſſadors admired him all the while; and perceiving even at that time how great he might one day become, they obſerved, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and Artaxerxes [f], by ſaying one to another, "* This young prince "is great, and our's is rich." That man muſt be vaſtly inſignificant, who has no other merit than his riches!

So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happineſs of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all ſuch arts and ſciences as are worthy

[e] Athen. l. xii. p. 739. [f] Artaxerxes Ochus.

* Οπαῖς ἔτος βασιλεὺς μέγας, ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος, πλούσιος.

the heir to a great kingdom; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a person of the most severe morals, and a relation of the queen. Alexander himself tells us afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journies together, used frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in order to see if Olympias his mother had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor, the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age, whom he intrusted with the whole care of his education. [g] One of the reasons which prompted Philip to choose him a master of so conspicuous a reputation and merit was, as he himself tells us, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.

Philip was sensible, how great a treasure he possessed in the person of Aristotle; for which reason he settled a very considerable stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of * Stagira, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinstated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made slaves; and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their studies and assemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing; as also spacious vistoes, under which those who walked were shaded from the sun-beams.

Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master whom he believed himself bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, "† That he was indebted to the "one for living, and to the other for living well." The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. ‡ He grew vastly fond of philosophy; and learned the

g Plut. in Apoph. p. 178.

* A city of Macedon, near the sea-shore.

† Ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐκεῖνον μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλὸς ζῶν.

‡ Retinuit ex sapientia modum. Tacit.

ſeveral parts of it, but in a manner ſuitable to his birth. Ariſtotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down ſure and certain rules, by which he might diſtinguiſh juſt and ſolid reaſoning from what is but ſpecioufly ſo; and by accuſtoming him to ſeparate in diſcourſe all ſuch parts as only dazzle, from thoſe which are truly ſolid, and ſhould conſtitute its whole value. He alſo exerciſed him in metaphyſics, which may be of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himſelf to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind; how greatly it differs from matter; in what manner he perceives ſpiritual things; how he is ſenſible of the impreſſion of thoſe that ſurround him, and many other queſtions of the like in port. The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that he did not omit either the mathematics, which give the mind ſo juſt a turn of thinking; or the wonders of nature, the ſtudy of which, beſides a great many other advantages, ſhews how very incapable the mind of man is to diſcover the ſecret principles of the things to which he is daily an eye-witneſs. But Alexander applied himſelf chiefly to morality, which is properly the ſcience of kings, becauſe it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his ſerious and profound ſtudy; and conſidered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wiſe policy. How much muſt ſuch an education contribute to the good conduct of a prince with regard to his own intereſts and the government of his people!

[h] The greateſt maſter of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boaſt, and who has left ſo excellent a treatiſe on that ſubject, took care to make that ſcience part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midſt of his conqueſts, was often very urgent with Ariſtotle, to ſend him a treatiſe on that ſubject. To this we owe the work entitled Alexander's Rhetoric; in the beginning of which, Ariſtotle proves to him the vaſt advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greateſt aſcendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wiſdom as authority. Some anſwers and letters of Alexander, which are ſtill extant, ſhew

h Ariſtot. in rhetor. ad Alex. p. 608, 609.

that he possessed, in its greatest perfection, that strong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with sense and ideas; and which is so entirely free from superfluous expressions, that every single word has its meaning; which, properly speaking, is the eloquence of kings.

His esteem, or rather his passion * for Homer, shews not only with what vigour and success he applied himself to polite literature, but the judicions use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it. He was not prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poesy; but his view in studying this admirable writer was, in order to borrow such sentiments from him, as are worthy a great king and conqueror, courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. And, indeed, the verse which pleased him most in Homer †, was that where Agamemnon is represented as "a good king, and a brave war-"rior."

After this, it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus, when after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found amongst the spoils of Darius a gold box, enriched with precious stones, in which the excellent perfumes used by that prince were put; Alexander, who was quite covered with dust, and regardless of essences and perfumes, ordered that this box should be employed to no other use than to hold Homer's poems, which he believed the most perfect, the most precious ‡ production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called, "‖ The best provision for a warior." He always had with him that edition of Homer which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of the "Edition of the Box" was given; and he laid it, with his sword, every night, under his pillow.

* Imperatoria brevitate. Tacit.

† Ἀμφότερον, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς, κρατερὸς τ' αἰχμητὴς. Iliad iii. v. 172.

‡ Pretiosissimum humani animi opus. Plin. l. vii. c. 29.

‖ Ἰῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον. This word, which I have not been able to render better, signifies, that we find in the Iliad whatever relates to the art of war, and the qualities of a general; in a word, all things necessary to form a good commander.

[i] Fond, even to excefs, of every kind of glory, he was difpleafed with Ariftotle, his maſter, for having publiſhed, in his abſence, certain metaphyſical pieces, which he himſelf deſired to poſſeſs only; and even at the time when he was employed in the conqueſt of Aſia, and the purſuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is ſtill extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander ſays in it, that "* he had much "rather ſurpaſs the reſt of men in the knowledge of ſublime "and excellent things, than the greatneſs and extent of his "power." He in like manner requeſted [k] Ariſtotle not to ſhew the treatiſe of rhetoric above mentioned to any perſon but himſelf. I will confeſs, that there is an exceſs in this ſtrong deſire of glory, which prompts him to ſuppreſs the merit of others, in order that his only may appear; but then we at leaſt muſt confeſs, that it diſcovers ſuch a paſſion for ſtudy as is very laudable in a prince; and the very reverſe of that indifference, not to ſay contempt and averſion, which moſt young perſons of high birth expreſs for all things that relate to learning and ſtudy.

Plutarch tells us in few words, the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taſte, with which his maſter, than whom no man poſſeſſed greater talents for the education of youth, had inſpired him from his moſt tender infancy. "He "loved," ſaid that author, "to converſe with learned men, to "improve himſelf in knowledge, and to ſtudy †;" three ſources of a monarch's happineſs, and which enable him to ſecure himſelf from numberleſs difficulties; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the aſſiſtance of others. The converſation of perſons of fine ſenſe inſtructs a prince by way of amuſement, and teaches him a thouſand curious and uſeful things without coſting him the leaſt trouble. The leſſons which able maſters give him, on the moſt exalted ſciences, and particularly upon politics, improve his mind wonderfully, and furniſh him with rules to govern his ſubjects with wiſdom. In fine, ſtudy, eſpecially that of hiſtory, crowns all

[i] Aul. Gel. l. xx. c. 5. [k] Ariſt. p. 609.

* Ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ταις περὶ τὰ ἀρίστα ἱμπειρίαις, ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, διαφέρειν.

† Ἦν φιλόλογος, καὶ φιλομαθὴς, καὶ φιλανεγνώστης.

the reſt, and is to him a preceptor for all ſeaſons, and for all hours, who, without ever growing troubleſome, acquaints him with truths which no one elſe would dare to tell him, and, under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himſelf; teaches him to know himſelf as well as mankind, who are the ſame in all ages. Alexander owed all theſe advantages to the excellent education Ariſtotle gave him.

[l] He had alſo a taſte for the whole circle of arts, but in ſuch a manner as became a prince; that is, he knew the value and uſefulneſs of them. Muſic, painting, ſculpture, architecture, flouriſhed in his reign, becauſe they * found in him both a ſkilful judge, and a generous protector, who was able to diſtinguiſh and reward merit.

[m] But he deſpiſed certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no uſe. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himſelf very attentively in throwing ſmall peaſe through the eye of a † needle, which he would do at a conſiderable diſtance, and without once miſſing. Alexander ſeeing him at this exerciſe, ordered him, as we are told, a preſent ſuitable to his employment, viz. a baſket of peaſe.

Alexander was of a ſprightly diſpoſition; was reſolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the ſame time would ſubmit immediately to reaſon and good ſenſe. It is very difficult to treat with perſons of this turn of mind. Philip accordingly, notwithſtanding his double authority of king and father, believed it neceſſary to employ perſuaſion rather than force with reſpect to his ſon, and endeavoured to make himſelf beloved rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been ſent from Theſſaly to Philip a war-horſe, a noble, ſtrong, fiery, generous beaſt, call-

[l] Plut. de fortun. Alex. Serm. ii. p. 333.

[m] Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 21.

* Μάρτυρα ἔλαζον καὶ θιατὴν, τὸν ἄριστα κρῖναι τὸ κατορθύμενον, καὶ μάλιστα ἀμείψασθαι δυνάμενον.

† We may ſuppoſe it was ſome inſtrument in the ſhape of a needle.

ed * Bucephalus. The owner would ſell him for thirteen talents, about L. 1900 Sterling. The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections of this horſe; but upon trial he appeared ſo very fierce, and pranced about in ſo furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that ſo furious and unmanageable a creature had been ſent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was preſent at that time, cried out, "What a noble horſe they are going to loſe, for "want of addreſs and boldneſs to back him!" Philip, at firſt, conſidered theſe words as the effect of folly and raſhneſs, ſo common to young men: But as Alexander inſiſted ſtill more upon what he had ſaid, and was very much vexed to ſee ſo noble a creature juſt going to be ſent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permiſſion, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the ſun; having obſerved, that the thing which frighted him was his own ſhadow, he ſeeing it dance about, or ſink down, in proportion as he moved. He therefore firſt ſtroked him gently with his hand, and ſoothed him with his voice; then ſeeing his mettle abate, and artfully taking his opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and ſpringing ſwiftly upon his back, firſt ſlackens the rein, without once ſtriking or vexing him: And when he perceived that his fire was cooled; that he was no longer ſo furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the rein, and ſpurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full ſpeed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his firſt heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke a horſe which was judged abſolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauſes and congratulations; and we are told, Philip ſhed tears of joy on this occaſion, and embracing Alexander after he was alighted, and kiſſing his head, he ſaid to him, "My ſon, ſeek a king-"dom more worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit."

* Some think he was called ſo, becauſe his head was like that of an ox.

We are told a great many ſurpriſing particulars of this Bucephalus; for whatever had any relation to Alexander, was to be of the marvellous kind. [a] When this creature was ſaddled and equipped for battle, he would ſuffer no one to back him but his maſter; and it would not have been ſafe for any other perſon to go near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount him, he would kneel down upon his two fore-feet. According to ſome hiſtorians, in the battle againſt Porus, where Alexander had plunged too imprudently amidſt a body of the enemy, his horſe, though wounded in every part of his body, did however exert himſelf in ſo vigorous a manner, that he ſaved his maſter's life; and notwithſtanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almoſt ſpent through the great effuſion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among the combatants, and carried him with inexpreſſible vigour to a place of ſecurity; where, perceiving * the king was no longer in danger, and overjoyed in ſome meaſure at the ſervice he had done him, he expired. This indeed is a very noble end for a horſe. Others ſay, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at thirty years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had loſt in him a moſt faithful and affectionate friend; and afterwards built a city on the very ſpot where he was buried, near the river Hydaſpes, and called it Bucephalia in honour of him.

I have related elſewhere, that Alexander, at ſixteen years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and inveſted with abſolute authority during his father's abſence; that he behaved with great prudence and bravery; and that afterwards he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt ſignal manner at the battle of Chaeronea.

[a] Aul. Gel. l. v. c. 2.

* Et domini jam ſuperſtitis ſecurus, quaſi cum ſenſus humani ſolatio, animam expiravit. Aul. Gel.

SECTION II.

ALEXANDER aſcends the THRONE. Declared GENERALISSIMO of the GREEKS againſt the PERSIANS.

DARIUS and Alexander[o] began to reign the ſame year: The latter was but twenty when he ſucceeded to the crown. His firſt care was to ſolemnize the funeral obſequies of his father with the utmoſt pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his acceſſion to the throne, he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations againſt whom Philip had fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made ſeveral conqueſts, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings, thought proper to take the advantage of this juncture, in which a new prince, who was but young, had aſcended the throne, for recovering their liberty, and uniting againſt the common uſurper. Nor was he under leſs apprehenſions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the ſeveral cities and commonwealths to continue their ancient form of government, had however entirely changed it in reality, and made himſelf abſolute maſter of it. Though he were abſent, he nevertheleſs ruled in all the aſſemblies; and not a ſingle reſolution was taken, but in ſubordination to his will. Though he had ſubdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the ſecret machinations of policy, he had not had time ſufficient to ſubject and accuſtom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment and diſorder, the minds of the vanquiſhed not being yet calmed or moulded to ſubjection.

The Macedonians, reflecting on this precarious ſituation of things, adviſed Alexander to relinquiſh Greece, and not perſiſt in his reſolution of ſubduing it by force†; to recover by gentle methods the Barbarians who had taken arms, and to ſooth, as it were, thoſe glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent reſerve, complacency, and inſinuations, in order to

[o] A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 386. Plut. in Alex. p. 670, 672. Diod. l. xvii. p. 486—489. Arian. l. i. de expedit. Alex. p. 2—23

† Θεραπεύειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν.

conciliate affection. However, Alexander would not liſten to theſe timorous counſels, but reſolved to ſecure and ſupport his affairs by boldneſs and magnanimity: firmly perſuaded, that ſhould he relax in any point at firſt, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromiſe matters, he ſhould be obliged to give up all Philip's conqueſts, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all poſſible haſte to check the arms of the barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he croſſed in one night. He defeated the king of Triballi in a great battle; made the Getae fly at at his approach; ſubdued ſeveral barbarous nations, ſome by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithſtanding the arrogant * anſwer of their ambaſſadors, he taught them to dread a danger ſtill more near them than the falling of the ſky and the planets.

Whilſt Alexander was thus employed at a diſtance againſt the Barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more particularly by Demoſthenes, formed a powerful alliance againſt that prince. A falſe report which prevailed of his death, inſpired the Thebans with a boldneſs that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garriſon in their citadel. [p] Demoſthenes, on the other ſide, was every day haranguing the people; and, fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called a child, and a hare-brained boy †, he aſſured the Athenians, with a deciſive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to ſtir out of his kingdom; but would think himſelf vaſtly happy could he ſit peaceably on his throne. At the ſame time he writ letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Aſia Minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's ſecond wife, and was

[p] Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 453.

* Alexander, imagining that his name only had ſtruck theſe people with terror, aſked their ambaſſadors what things they dreaded moſt? They replied, with a haughty tone of voice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the ſky and ſtars.

† It is μαγγίτης in Greek, a word which ſignifies many things in that language.

very much difpofed to liften to Demofthenes's propofals. Nevertheleſs, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reaſon; he therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the ſuſpicions he might entertain, and the better to ſcreen his deſigns, ſent all Demoſthenes's letters to that prince. But Alexander ſaw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecataeus, one of his commanders, whom he had ſent into Aſia for that purpoſe, to have him aſſaſſinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death reſtored tranquillity to the army, and entirely deſtroyed the ſeeds of diſcord and rebellion.

[q] When Alexander had ſecured his kingdom from the Barbarians, he marched with the utmoſt expedition towards Greece, and paſſed the Thermopylae. He then ſpoke as follows to thoſe who accompanied him: "Demoſthenes called me, in his ora-"tions, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi; "he called me a young man when I was in Theſſaly; and I "muſt now ſhew him, before the walls of Athens, that I am "a man grown." He appeared ſo ſuddenly in Boeotia, that the Thebans could ſcarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent, and only demanded to have Phoenix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who ſhould come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of inſult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were ſolicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impoſſible for him to get the better of their obſtinacy by offers of peace, ſaw with grief that he ſhould be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themſelves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their ſtrength, for the enemy exceeded them vaſtly in numbers: But after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, ſuch as ſurvived of the Macedonian garriſon in the citadel, coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the

[q] A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334.

rear, furrounded on all ſides, the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, and the city taken and plundered.

It would be impoſſible for words to expreſs the dreadful calamities which the Thebans ſuffered on this occaſion. Some Thracians having pulled down the houſe of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treaſures; and their captain having ſeized the lady, and ſatiated his brutal luſt with her, afterwards inquired whether ſhe had not concealed gold and ſilver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent deſire of revenge, replying that ſhe had hid ſome, took him with herſelf only into her garden, and ſhewing him a well, told him, that the inſtant ſhe ſaw the enemy enter the city, ſhe herſelf had thrown into it the moſt valuable things in her poſſeſſion. The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and ſtooping down to ſee its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, puſhing him with all her ſtrength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great ſtones which ſhe threw upon him. She was inſtantly ſeized by the Thracians; and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince perceived immediately by her mien, that ſhe was a woman of quality and great ſpirit; for ſhe followed thoſe brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without diſcovering the leaſt fear. Alexander aſking her who ſhe was, Timoclea replied, I am ſiſter to Theagenes, who fought againſt Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chaeronea, where he commanded. The prince, admiring the generous anſwer of that lady, and ſtill more the action that ſhe had done, gave orders that ſhe ſhould have leave to retire wherever ſhe pleaſed with her children.

Alexander then debated in council, how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocaeans and the people of Plataea, Theſpiae, and Orchomenos, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had ſhared in his victory, repreſented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who alſo had deſtroyed their ſeveral cities; and reproached them with the zeal which they had always diſcovered in favour of the Perſians againſt the Greeks, who held them in the utmoſt

deteſtation; the proof of which was, the oath they all had taken to deſtroy Thebes, after they ſhould have vanquiſhed the Perſians.

Cleades, one of the priſoners, being permitted to ſpeak, endeavoured to excuſe, in ſome meaſure, the revolt of the Thebans; a fault which, in his opinion, ſhould be imputed to a raſh and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonſtrated, that his countrymen, upon a falſe report of Alexander's death, had indeed too raſhly broke into rebellion, not againſt the king, but againſt his ſucceſſors. That what crimes ſoever they might have committed, they had been puniſhed for them with the utmoſt ſeverity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city. That there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear; and who were ſo much the greater objects of compaſſion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had given birth to ſo many gods and heroes, ſeveral of whom were that king's anceſtors; had alſo been the ſeat of his father Philip's riſing glory, and like a ſecond native country to him.

Theſe motives, which Cleades urged, were very ſtrong and powerful; nevertheleſs, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was deſtroyed. However, he ſet at liberty the prieſts; all ſuch as had right of hoſpitality with the Macedonians; the deſcendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done ſo much honour to Greece; and ſuch as had oppoſed the revolt: But all the reſt, in number about thirty thouſand, he ſold; and upwards of ſix thouſand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were ſo ſenſibly afflicted at the ſad diſaſter which had befallen Thebes, that being about to ſolemnize the feſtival of the great myſteries, they ſuſpended them, upon account of their extreme grief, and received with the greateſt humanity all thoſe who had fled from the battle, and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their aſylum.

Alexander's ſo ſudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtineſs of the Athenians, and extinguiſhed De-

moſthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was ſtill more ſudden, threw them into the utmoſt conſternation. They therefore had recourſe to entreaties, and ſent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demoſthenes was among them; but he was no ſooner arrived at Mount Cytheron, than dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embaſſy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander ſent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he ſuppoſed to have been the chief inſtruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chaeronea. It was on this occaſion Demoſthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is ſuppoſed, "That the wolves "one day told the ſheep, that in caſe they deſired to be at "peace with them, they muſt deliver up to them the dogs who "were their guard." The application was eaſy and natural, eſpecially with reſpect to the orators, who were juſtly compared to dogs, whoſe duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to ſave the lives of the flock.

In this prodigious dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail with themſelves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to ſave their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendſhip, offered to undertake the embaſſy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had ſatiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if poſſible, by ſome act of clemency, the barbarous action he had juſt before committed; or rather, to remove the ſeveral obſtacles which might retard the execution of his grand deſign, and by that means not leave, during his abſence, the leaſt pretence for murmurs; waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their ſending Caridemus into baniſhment, who being a native of * Oraea, had been preſented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the ſervices he had done the republic. He was ſon-in-law to Cherſobleptus, king of Thrace; had learned the art of war under Iphicrates; and had himſelf frequently commanded the Athe-

* A city of Euboea.

nian armies. To avoid the purſuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Perſia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the ſeveral injuries he pretended to have received; but expreſſed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themſelves vigorouſly to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the ſeveral tranſactions which might happen; becauſe, in caſe of his death, their city was to give laws to the reſt of Greece. Hiſtorians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was ſeized with deep remorſe for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans; and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of ſeverity towards ſo powerful a city as Thebes, ſpread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He ſummoned, at Corinth, the * aſſembly of the ſeveral ſtates and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the ſame ſupreme command againſt the Perſians, as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important ſubject. It was the weſtern world deliberating upon the ruin of the eaſt, and the methods for executing a revenge ſuſpended more than an age. The aſſembly held at this time will give riſe to events, the relation of which will appear aſtoniſhing, and almoſt incredible; and to revolutions, which will change the diſpoſition of moſt things in the world.

To form ſuch a deſign required a prince bold, enterpriſing, and experienced in war; one of great views, who having acquired a mighty name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obſtacles; but above all, a monarch who had a ſupreme authority over all the ſtates of Greece, none of which ſingly was powerful enough to make ſo arduous an attempt; and which required, in order for their acting in concert, to be ſubject to one chief, who might give motion to the ſeveral parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the ſame end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the peo-

* Plutarch places that diet or aſſembly here, but others fix it earlier; whence Dr. Prideaux ſuppoſed it was ſummoned twice.

ple their ancient hatred of the Perſians, their perpetual and irreconcileable enemies; whoſe deſtruction they had more than once ſworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in caſe an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf for that purpoſe; a hatred, which the inteſtine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have ſuſpended, but could never extinguiſh. The immortal retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of the prodigious army of the Perſians; the terror which Ageſilaus, with a handful of men, had ſtruck even as far as Suſa; ſhewed plainly what might be expected from an army, compoſed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and thoſe of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to ſay all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the aſſembly were therefore very ſhort; and that prince was unanimouſly appointed generaliſſimo againſt the Perſians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philoſophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himſelf, that Diogenes of Sinope, who was then at Corinth, would alſo come like the reſt, and pay his compliments. This philoſopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men juſt upon their exaltation; but that mankind ought to wait till thoſe perſons have performed actions worthy of their high ſtations. Diogenes therefore did not ſtir out of his houſe; upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a viſit. The philoſopher was at that time lying down in the ſun; but ſeeing ſo great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he ſat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, ſurpriſed to ſee ſo famous a philoſopher reduced to ſuch extreme poverty, after ſaluting him in the kindeſt manner, aſked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, "Yes, that you would ſtand a little out of my ſun-ſhine." This anſwer raiſed the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, ſtruck with the philoſopher's greatneſs of ſoul, "Were I not "Alexander," ſays he, "I would be Diogenes. A very

profound ſenſe lies hid in this expreſſion, that ſhews perfectly the bent and diſpoſition of the heart of man. Alexander is ſenſible that he is formed to poſſeſs all things; ſuch is his deſtiny, in which he makes his happineſs to conſiſt: But then, in caſe he ſhould not be able to compaſs his ends, he is alſo ſenſible, that to be happy, he muſt endeavour to bring his mind to ſuch a frame as to want nothing. In a word, all or nothing preſents us with a true image of Alexander and Diogenes. * How great and powerful ſoever that prince might think himſelf, he could not deny himſelf, on this occaſion, inferior to a man, to whom he could give, and from whom he could take nothing.

Alexander, before he ſet out for Aſia, was determined to conſult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos; he happened to arrive at it on thoſe days which are called Unlucky, a ſeaſon in which people were forbid conſulting the oracle; and accordingly the prieſteſs refuſed to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and as he was leading her to the temple, ſhe cried out, "† My ſon, thou art ir-"reſiſtible." This was all he deſired; and catching hold of theſe words, which he conſidered as ſpoke by the oracle, he ſet out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

NOTE with regard to the SEQUEL of the HISTORY.

I COULD have wiſhed, and it was even my deſign, to prefix to the exploits of Alexander, a geographical map, as I did to thoſe of Cyrus the younger; this being of great aſſiſtance to the reader, and enables him to follow the hero in all his conqueſts. But it was not in my power to do this here, the map of Alexander's conqueſts being too large to be conveniently inſerted in this volume. But to ſupply, in ſome meaſure, this defect, I ſhall here give, in one view, a ſhort account of thoſe countries through which Alexander paſſed, till his return from India.

* Homo ſupra menſuram humanae ſuperbiae tumens, vidit aliquem, cui nec dare quidquam poſſet, nec eripere, Senec. de benef. l. v. c. 6.

† Ἀνίκητος εἶ ὦ παῖ

Alexander ſets out from Macedonia, which is part of Turkey in Europe, and croſſes the Helleſpont, or the Straits of the Dardanelles.

He croſſes Aſia Minor (Natolia), where he fights two battles; the firſt at the paſs of the river Granicus, and the ſecond near the city of Iſſus.

After this ſecond battle, he enters Syria and Paleſtine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Lybia, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates.

He croſſes that river, then the Tigris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; poſſeſſes himſelf of * Babylon, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he paſſes into Hyrcania, to the ſea which goes by that name, otherwiſe called the Caſpian ſea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamiſus.

He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far the river Iaxarthes, called by Q. Curtius the Tanais, the farther ſide of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whoſe country forms part of Great Tartary.

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, croſſes the river Indus; enters India, which lies on this ſide the Ganges, and forms part of the Grand Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he alſo intended to paſs, had not his army refuſed to follow him. He therefore contents himſelf with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, almoſt to which river Alexander marched, is computed at leaſt eleven hundred leagues.

Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches; firſt, from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Iſſus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Libia: and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of three hundred leagues at leaſt, and as much ſpace at leaſt for the winding; of

* The Capital of Babylonia,

his route in different places; we ſhall find that Alexander, in leſs than eight years, marched his army upwards of ſeventeen hundred leagues, without including his return to Babylon.

SECTION III.

ALEXANDER ſets out againſt the PERSIANS. Obtains a famous VICTORY at the RIVER GRANICUS.

ALEXANDER being arrived in his kingdom[r], held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the grandees of his court, on the expedition he meditated againſt Perſia, and the meaſures he ſhould take in order to ſucceed in it. The whole aſſembly was unanimous, except on one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterpriſe which would neceſſarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a conſort, in order to ſecure himſelf a ſucceſſor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice: and believed, that after he had been nominated generaliſſimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a ſhame for him to loſe his time in ſolemniſing his nuptials, waiting for the fruits of it; for which reaſon he determined to ſet out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very ſplendid ſacrifices to the gods, and cauſed to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, * ſcenical games, that had been inſtituted by one of his anceſtors in honour of Jupiter and the Muſes. This feſtival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of thoſe Goddeſſes. He had a tent raiſed large enough to hold an hundred tables. On which conſequently nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feaſt, the ſeveral princes of his family, all the ambaſſadors, generals, and officers, were invited. [s] He alſo treated his whole army. It was then he had the famous viſion, in which he was

r A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Diod. l. xvii. p. 499—503. Arian. l. i. p. 23—36. Plut. in Alex. p. 672, 673. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 5. 6.

s Joſeph Antiquit. lib. xi.

* Theatrical repreſentations were ſo called.

exhorted to march ſpeedily into Aſia, of which mention will be made in the ſequel.

Before he ſet out upon this expedition, he ſettled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thouſand foot, and near the ſame number of horſe.

He alſo inquired into the domeſtic affairs of his friends, giving to one an eſtate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of an harbour. And as all the revenues of his demeſnes were already employed and exhauſted by his donations, Perdiccas ſaid to him, "My lord, "what is it you reſerve for yourſelf?" Alexander replying "Hope:" Says Perdiccas, "The ſame hope ought therefore "to ſatisfy us;" and ſo refuſed very generouſly to accept of what the king had appointed him.

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of governing it, is of great importance to a prince. Now Alexander was ſenſible, that this ſecret conſiſts in making it the intereſt of every individual to promote his grandeur; and to govern his ſubjects in ſuch a manner, that they may feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then the intereſt of every perſon unites with that of the princes. They are one's own poſſeſſions, one's own happineſs which we love in his perſon; and we are ſo many times attached to him, and by as cloſe ties, as there are things we love, and receive from him. All the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew, that no perſon ever made a more happy uſe of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himſelf raiſed to the throne, merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither ſatisfied nor exhauſted by the nobleſt acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having completely ſettled affairs in Macedonia, and uſed all the precautions imaginable to prevent any troubles from ariſing in it during his abſence, ſet out for Aſia in the beginning of the ſpring. His army conſiſted of little more than thirty thouſand foot, and four or five thouſand horſe; but then they were all brave men; were well diſciplined, and inured to fatigues; had made ſeveral campaigns un-

der Philip; and were each of them *, in caſe of neceſſity, capable of commanding. Moſt of the officers were near threeſcore years of age; and when they were either aſſembled †, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable ſenate. Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas, his ſon, had one thouſand eight hundred horſe ‡ under him; and Callas, the ſon of Harpalus, the ſame number of Theſſalian cavalry. The reſt of the horſe, who were compoſed of natives of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, and amounted to ſix hundred, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Paeonians, who were always in front, were headed by Caſſander. Alexander began his route along the lake Cercinum towards Amphipolis; croſſed the river Strymon, near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Seſtos after twenty days march. He then commanded Parmenio to croſs over from Ceſtos to Abydos, with all the horſe and part of foot; which he accordingly did by the aſſiſtance of an hundred and threeſcore galleys, and ſeveral flat-bottomed veſſels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleontum to the port of the Achaians, himſelf ſteering his own galley; and being got to the middle of the Helleſpont, he ſacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids; and made effuſions in the ſea from a golden cup. It is alſo related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as thereby to take poſſeſſion of it, he landed the firſt in Aſia; and leaping from the ſhip, completely armed, and in the higheſt tranſports of joy, he erected altars on the ſhore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with ſo propitious a deſcent. He had done the ſame at his leaving Europe.

He depended ſo entirely on the happy ſucceſs of his arms, and the rich ſpoils he ſhould find in Aſia, that he had made very little proviſion for ſo great an expedition; perſuaded that war, when carried on ſucceſsfully, would ſupply all things ne-

* Ut non tam milites, quam magiſtros militiae electos putares. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 6.

† Ut, ſi principia caſtrorum cerneres, ſenatum te alicujus priſcae reip. videre diceres. Id.

‡ Theſe were all Macedonians.

ceſſary for war. He had but ſeventy * talents in money, to pay his army, and only a month's proviſion. I before obſerved, that he had divided his patrimony among his generals, and officers; and a circumſtance of great importance is, that he had inſpired his ſoldiers with ſo much courage and ſecurity, that they fancied they marched, not to precarious war, but certain victory.

[t] Being arrived at the city of Lampſacus, which he was determined to deſtroy, in order to puniſh the rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous hiſtorian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himſelf had a great eſteem for him, having been his pupil. The king ſuſpecting the buſineſs he was come upon, to be beforehand with him, ſwore, in expreſs terms, that he would never grant his requeſt. "The favour I have to deſire of you," ſays Anaximenes, "is, that you would deſtroy Lampſacus." By this witty evaſion the hiſtorian ſaved his country.

From thence Alexander arrived at Illion, where he paid great honours to the manes of Achilles, and cauſed games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found during his life-time, a faithful friend in Patrocles; and, after his death, a herald in Homer, worthy the greatneſs of his exploits. And indeed †, had it not been for the Iliad, the name of Achilles would have periſhed in the ſame grave with his body.

At laſt Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia. The Satrapae, or deputy-lieutenants, waited his coming on the other ſide of it, firmly reſolved to diſpute the paſſage with him. Their army conſiſted of ‡ one

[t] Val. Max. l. vii. c. 3.

* Seventy thouſand crowns.

† Cum in Sigaeo ad Achilles tumulum conſtitiſſet: O fortunate, inquit, adoleſcens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris! Et vere. Nam, niſi Ilias illa extitiſſet, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, etiam nomen obruiſſet. Cic. pro Arch. n. 24.

‡ According to Juſtin, their army conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand foot, whereas Arian declares there were no more than twenty thouſand. Both theſe au-

hundred thouſand foot, and upwards of ten thouſand horſe. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coaſt of Aſia, had adviſed the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay waſte the plains, and even the cities, thereby to ſtarve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the beſt of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not eaſy to determine what we ought to admire moſt in him; whether his great wiſdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his ſovereign. The counſel he gave on this occaſion was excellent; when we conſider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous; had neither town, magazine, or place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was abſolutely a ſtranger, inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arſites, a Phrygian ſatrap, oppoſed the opinion of Memnon, and proteſted he would never ſuffer the Grecians to make ſuch havoc in the territories he governed. This ill counſel prevailed over that of the foreigner, Memnon, whom the Perſians, to their great prejudice, ſuſpected of a deſign to protract the war, and by that means make himſelf neceſſary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings: The baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio adviſed him to encamp there in battle-array, in order that his forces might have time to reſt themſelves; and not to paſs the river till very early next morning, becauſe the enemy would be leſs able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt croſſing a river in ſight of an enemy, eſpecially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; ſo that the Perſian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle array, on the other ſide, might eaſily defeat them before they were drawn up. That, beſides the loſs which would be ſuſtained on this occaſion, this enterpriſe, in caſe it ſhould prove unſuc-

counts are improbable; and there is doubtleſs ſome fault in the text; and therefore ‡ follow Diodorus Siculus.

ceſsful, would be of dangerous conſequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the firſt actions.

However, theſe reaſons were not able to make the leaſt impreſſion on Alexander, who declared, that it would be a ſhame, ſhould he, after croſſing the Helleſpont, ſuffer his progreſs to be retarded by a rivulet, for ſo he called the Granicus out of contempt: That they ought to take the advantage of the terror, which the ſuddenneſs of his arrival, and the boldneſs of his attempt, had ſpread amongſt the Perſians; and anſwer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horſe, which was very numerous, lined the whole ſhore, and formed a large front, in order to oppoſe Alexander, wherever he ſhould endeavour to paſs; and the foot, which conſiſted chiefly of Greeks, in Darius's ſervice, was poſted behind, upon an eaſy aſcent.

The two armies continued a long time in ſight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Perſians waited till the Macedonians ſhould enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter ſeemed to be making choice of a place proper for croſſing, and to ſurvey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander having ordered his horſe to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himſelf commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king firſt cauſed a ſtrong detachment to march into the river, himſelf following it with the reſt of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing. He himſelf led on the right wing into the river, followed by the reſt of the troops; the trumpets ſounding, and the whole army raiſing cries of joy.

The Perſians, ſeeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not ſo great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horſe engaged with great fury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other ſtriving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whoſe cavalry was vaſtly inferior in number, beſides the advantage of the ground, were wound-

ed with the darts that were ſhot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Perſian horſe were drawn together in this place; and that Memnon, in concert with his ſons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at firſt gave ground, after having loſt the firſt ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who had followed them cloſe, and reinforced them with his beſt troops, heads them himſelf, animates them with his preſence, puſhes the Perſians, and routs them; upon which the whole army follow after, croſs the river, and attack the enemy on all ſides.

Alexander firſt charged the thickeſt part of the enemy's horſe, in which the generals fought. He himſelf was particularly conſpicuous by his ſhield, and the plume of feathers that overſhadowed his helmet, on the two ſides of which there roſe two wings, as it were, of a great length, and ſo vaſtly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his perſon; and though only horſe engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either ſide; every one ſtriving to repulſe his adverſary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and ſon-in-law to Darius, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt of the generals by his ſuperior bravery. Being ſurrounded by forty Perſian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his ſide, he carried terror wherever he moved. Alexander, obſerving in how gallant a manner he ſignalized himſelf, clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engage; and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other ſlightly. Spithrobates falls furiouſly ſword in hand upon Alexander, who, being prepared for him, thruſts his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment, Roſaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the ſide, gives him ſo furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cuts off Roſaces's hand with one ſtroke of his ſcimitar, and by that means ſaved his ſove-

reign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been expoſed greatly animated the courage of his ſoldiers, who now perform wonders. The Perſians in the centre of the horſe, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been poſted in the intervals of the horſe, poured a perpetual diſcharge of darts, being unable to ſuſtain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who ſtruck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke and put to flight. Alexander did not purſue them long; but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

Theſe, ſays the hiſtorian, at firſt ſtood their ground, which was owing to the ſurpriſe they were ſeized with, rather than bravery. But when they ſaw themſelves attacked at the ſame time by the cavalry and the Macedonian phalanx, which had croſſed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged; thoſe of the Perſians did not make either a long or a vigorous reſiſtance, and were ſoon put to flight, the Grecian infantry in Darius's ſervice excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promiſe from Alexander to let them march away unmoleſted; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than thoſe of reaſon, he ruſhed into the midſt of this body of foot, and preſently loſt his horſe, not Bucephalus, who was killed with the thruſt of a ſword. The battle was ſo hot round him, that moſt of the Macedonians, who loſt their lives on this occaſion, fell here; for they fought againſt a body of men who were well diſciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in deſpair. They were all cut to pieces, two thouſand excepted, who were taken priſoners.

A great number of the chief Perſian commanders lay dead on the ſpot. Arſites fled into Phrygia, where it is ſaid he laid violent hands upon himſelf, for having been the cauſe that the battle was fought. It would have been more glorious for him, had he died in the field. Twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, were killed in this engagement, on the ſide of the Barbarians; and of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horſe were killed at the firſt attack. Alexander ordered Lyſippus to make their ſtatues in braſs, all which were ſet up in a city of Macedon called Dia, in honour of them,

from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About three ſcore of the other horſe were killed, and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid, with their arms and equipage, in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and ſervice.

He alſo took the utmoſt care of the wounded, viſited them, and ſaw their wounds dreſſed. He enquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boaſt his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by ſuch a familiarity and condeſcenſion. He alſo granted the rites of ſepulture to the grandees of Perſia; and did not even refuſe it to ſuch Greeks as died in the Perſian ſervice; but all thoſe whom he took priſoners, he laid in chains, and ſent them to work as ſlaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the Barbarian ſtandards againſt their country, contrary to the expreſs prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleaſure to ſhare the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and ſent particularly to the Athenians three hundred ſhields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy; and cauſed the glorious inſcription following to be inſcribed on the reſt of the ſpoils: "Alexander, ſon of Philip, with the Greeks, the Lacedaemonians "excepted, gained theſe ſpoils from the Barbarians, who in-"habit Aſia." A conduct of this kind, argues a very uncommon and amiable greatneſs of ſoul in a conqueror, who generally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to ſhare in his glory. The greateſt part of the gold and ſilver plate, the purple carpets, and other furniture of the Perſian luxury, he ſent to his mother.

SECTION IV.

ALEXANDER conquers the greateſt part of ASIA MINOR. DESCRIPTION of DARIUS's MARCH.

THE ſucceſs of the battle of the Granicus had all the happy conſequences that could naturally be expected from it[u]. Sardis, which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the ſide next the ſea, ſurrendered to Alexander, who thereupon gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after he arrived at Epheſus, carrying with him thoſe who had been baniſhed from thence for being his adherents, and reſtored its popular form of government. He aſſigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Perſia. He offered a great number of ſacrifices to that goddeſs; ſolemnized her myſteries with the utmoſt pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in battle array. The Epheſians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burned the night of Alexander's birth, as was before obſerved; and the work was now very forward. Dinocrates, a famous architect, who ſuperintended this edifice, was employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Epheſians all the expences they had already been at, and to furniſh the remainder, provided they would inſcribe the temple only with his name; for he was fond, or rather inſatiable, of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Epheſus not being willing to conſent to it, and however afraid to refuſe him that honour openly, had recourſe to an artful flattery for an evaſion. They told him, that it was inconſiſtent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he left Epheſus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magneſia waited upon him with the keys of thoſe places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus; which city, flattered with the hopes of a ſudden and powerful ſupport, ſhut their

[u] A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 333. Diod. l. xvii. p. 503—511. Arrian. l. i. p. 36—59. et l. ii. p. 60—66. Plut. in Alex. p. 673, 674. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1—3. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 7, 8. Strab. l. xiv. p. 640. Solin. c. xl.

gates againſt him: And indeed ther Perſian fleet, which was very conſiderable, made a ſhew as if it would ſuccour that city; but after having made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to ſail away. Memnon had ſhut himſelf up in this fortreſs, with a great number of his ſoldiers, who had eſcaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not loſe a moment's time, attacked it, and planted ſcaling-ladders on all ſides. The ſcalado was carried on with great vigour, and oppoſed with no leſs intrepidity, though Alexander ſent freſh troops to relieve one another without the leaſt intermiſſion; and this laſted ſeveral days. At laſt, finding his ſoldiers were every where repulſed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long ſiege, he planted all his machines againſt it, made a great number of breaches; and whenever theſe were attacked, a new ſcalado was attempted. The beſieged, after ſuſtaining all theſe efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, for fear of being taken by ſtorm. Alexander treated all the Mileſians with the utmoſt humanity, and ſold all the foreigners who were found in it. The hiſtorians do not make any mention of Memnon; but we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that he marched out with the garriſon.

[x] Alexander, ſeeing that the enemy's fleet was ſailed away, reſolved to lay up his own, the expence of it being too great, not to mention that he wanted money for things of greater importance. Some hiſtorians are even of opinion, that as he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius, which was to determine the fate of the two empires, he was reſolved to deprive his ſoldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other reſource than that of victory. He therefore retained ſuch veſſels only of his fleet as were abſolutely neceſſary for tranſporting the military engines, and a ſmall number of other gallies.

After poſſeſſing himſelf of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay ſiege to Halicarnaſſus, This city was of prodigious difficult acceſs from its happy ſituation, and had been ſtrongly fortified. Beſides, Memnon, the ableſt as well as the

[x] A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333.

moſt valiant of all Darius's commanders, had got into it with a body of choice ſoldiers, with deſign to ſignalize his courage, and fidelity for his ſovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was ſeconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the moſt intrepid bravery, and the moſt conſummate knowledge in the ſcience of war, was conſpicuous on both ſides on this occaſion. After the beſiegers had, with incredible labour, filled up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, they had the grief to ſee their works demoliſhed in an inſtant, and their engines ſet on fire, by the frequent vigorous ſallies of the beſieged. After beating down part of a wall with their battering-rams, they were aſtoniſhed to ſee a new one behind it; which was ſo ſudden, that it ſeemed to riſe out of the ground. The attack of theſe walls, which were built in a ſemicircular form, deſtroyed a prodigious number of men; becauſe the beſieged, from the top of the towers that were raiſed on the ſeveral ſides, took the enemy in flank. It was evidently ſeen at this ſiege, that the ſtrongeſt fortifications of a city are the valour and courage of its defenders. The ſiege was held out ſo long, and attended with ſuch ſurpriſing difficulties, as would have diſcouraged any warrior but an Alexander; yet his troops were animated by the view of dangers; and their patience was at laſt ſucceſsful. Memnon, finding it impoſſible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the ſea was open to him, after having put a ſtrong garriſon into the citadel, which was well ſtored with proviſions, he took with him the ſurviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the iſland of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnaſſus. Alexander did not think proper to beſiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was deſtroyed, which he demoliſhed to the very foundations. He left it, after having encompaſſed it with ſtrong walls, and left ſome good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemiſa, queen of Caria, Idrieus her brother reigned in her ſtead. The ſceptre devolved upon Ada, ſiſter and wife of Idrieus, according to the cuſtom of the coun-

try; but ſhe was dethroned by Prexodorus, to whom ſucceeded, by Darius's command, Orontobates, his ſon-in-law. Ada, however, was ſtill poſſeſſed of a fortreſs called Alinda, the keys of which ſhe had carried to Alexander, the inſtant ſhe heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her ſon. The king was ſo far from contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet poſſeſſion of her own city; and, after having taken Halicarnaſſus, as he by that means was maſter of the whole country, he reſtored the government of it to Ada.

[y] This lady, as a teſtimony of the deep ſenſe ſhe had of the favours received from Alexander, ſent him every day meats dreſſed in the moſt exquiſite manner; delicious pies of all ſorts, and the moſt excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander anſwered the queen on this occaſion, "That all this train was "of no ſervice to him; for that he was poſſeſſed of much bet-"ter cooks, whom * Leonidas his governor had given him; "one of whom prepared him a good dinner, and that was by "walking a great deal in the morning very early; and the "other prepared him an excellent ſupper, and that was dining "very moderately."

Several kings of Aſia Minor ſubmitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates king of Pontus was one of theſe, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was ſon to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elſewhere. [z] He is computed to be the ſixteenth king from Artabazus, who is conſidered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in poſſeſſion by Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes his father. The famous Mithridates, who ſo long employed the Roman armies, was one of his ſucceſſors.

Alexander, before he went into winter-quarters, permitted all ſuch of his ſoldiers as he had married that year, to return into Macedonia, there to ſpend the winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the ſpring. He appointed three officers to march them thither and back again.

[y] Plut. in Alex. p. 677. [z] Florus, l. iii. c. 5.

* Βελτίονας γὰρ ὀψοποιοὺς ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ Λεονίδου δεδομένους αὐτῷ πρὸς μὲν τε ἀρίστοι νυκτοπορίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ὀλιγαρίστιαν.

This agrees exactly with the law of [a] Moſes; and, as we do not find that this law or cuſtom was uſed by any other nation, it is very probable that Ariſtole had learned it from ſome Jew, with whom he became acquainted in Aſia; and that approving it as a very wiſe and juſt cuſtom, he therefore had recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occaſion.

The next year Alexander began the campain very early. He had debated, whether it would be proper for him to march directly againſt Darius, or ſhould firſt ſubdue the reſt of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the ſafeſt, ſince he thereby would not be moleſted by ſuch nations as he ſhould leave behind him. [b] This progreſs was a little interrupted at firſt. Near Phaſelis, a city ſituated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the ſea-ſhore, which is always dry at low water, ſo that travellers may paſs it at that time; but when the ſea riſes, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was deſirous of paſſing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waiſt. Some hiſtorians, purely to embelliſh this incident, relate that the ſea, by the divine command, had ſubmitted ſpontaneouſly to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the uſual courſe of nature; among theſe writers is Quintus Curtius. It is ſurpriſing that Joſephus the hiſtorian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews paſſing through the Red Sea as on dry land, ſhould have cited this circumſtance by way of example, the falſity of which Alexander himſelf had refuted. For Plutarch relates, that he had wrote only as follows in one of his letters, "That when he "left the city of Phaſelis, he marched on foot through the "paſs of the mountain called Climax:" And it is very well known, that this prince, who was vaſtly fond of the marvellous, never let ſlip any opportunity of perſuading the people, that the gods protected him in a very ſingular manner.

During his being in the neighbourhood of Phaſelis, he diſcovered a conſpiracy which was carrying on by Alexander ſon of Eropus, whom he had a little before appointed general of

[a] Deut. xxiv. 5. [b] Strab. l. xiv. p. 666.

the Theſſalian cavalry, in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this traitor had ſent him, promiſed him a reward of a thouſand * talents of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in caſe he could murder Alexander; believing this was not paying too dear for a crime, which would rid him of ſo formidable an enemy. The meſſenger who carried the king's anſwer being ſeized, made a full confeſſion, by which means the traitor was brought to condign puniſhment.

Alexander, after having ſettled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celaenae, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marſyas, which the fictions of poets have made ſo famous. He ſummoned the garriſon of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to ſurrender; but theſe, believing it impregnable, anſwered haughtily, that they would firſt die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they deſired a truce of ſixty days, at the expiration of which they promiſed to open their gates, in caſe they were not ſuccoured. And accordingly, no aid arriving, they ſurrendered themſelves upon the day fixed.

From thence the king marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordion, the ancient and famous reſidence of king Midas, ſituated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was deſirous of ſeeing the famous chariot to which the Gordion knot was tied. This knot, which faſtened the yoke to the beam, was tied with ſo much art, and the ſtrings were twiſted in ſo wonderful a manner, that it was impoſſible to diſcover where it began or ended. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it ſhould poſſeſs the empire of Aſia. Now Alexander was firmly perſuaded that this promiſe related to himſelf; after many fruitleſs trials, he cried, "[c] It is no matter which way it be untied," and thereupon cut it with his ſword, and by that means, ſays the hiſtorian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle.

In the mean time Darius was ſetting every engine at work,

[c] Sortem oraculi vel eluſit, vel implevit. Quint. Curt.

* About one million five hundred thouſand pounds Sterling.

in order to make a vigorous defence. Memnon the Rhodian adviſed him to carry the war into Macedonia; which counſel ſeemed the moſt proper, to extricate him from preſent danger; for the Lacedaemonians, and ſeveral other Greek nations, who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander muſt have been forced to leave Aſia, and return ſuddenly over ſea, to defend his own country. Darius approved this counſel; and, having determined to follow it, charged Memnon to put it in execution. Accordingly, he was declared admiral of the fleet, and captain-general of all the forces deſigned for that expedition.

That prince could not poſſibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ableſt general in his ſervice, had fought a great many years under the Perſian ſtandards with the utmoſt fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of the Granicus had not been fought. He did not abandon his maſter's intereſts after that misfortune, but had aſſembled the ſcattered remains of the army, and immediately went firſt to Miletos, from thence to Halicarnaſſus, and laſtly into the iſland of Cos, where he was when he received his new commiſſion. This place was the rendezvous of the fleet; and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his deſign in execution. He made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Chios, and all Leſbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to paſs over into Euboea, and to make Greece and Macedonia the ſeat of the war; but died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to beſiege. His death was the greateſt misfortune that could poſſibly have happened to Perſia. We ſee on this occaſion the ineſtimable worth of a man of merit, whoſe death is ſometimes the ruin of a ſtate. The loſs of Memnon fruſtrated the execution of the plan he had formed; for Darius, not having one general in his army who was able to ſupply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterpriſe which could have ſaved his empire. His whole refuge therefore now lay in the armies of the eaſt. Darius, diſſatisfied with all his generals, reſolved to command in perſon, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army:

whereupon being muſtered, they were found to be about four, five, or ſix hundred thouſand men; for hiſtorians differ very much on this head.

Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he ſubdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the reſolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Aſia. Accordingly, he advanced by haſty marches into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called * Cyrus's camp. From thence there is no more than fifty ſtadia, two leagues and a half each, to the paſs of Cilicia, which is a very narrow ſtrait, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarſus. The officer, who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few ſoldiers in it, and thoſe fled the inſtant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this Alexander entered the paſs, and, after viewing very attentively the ſituation of the place, he admired his own good fortune; and confeſſed, that he might have been very eaſily ſtopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of ſtones: For, not to mention that this paſs was ſo narrow that four men completely armed could ſcarcely walk a-breaſt in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only ſtrait, but broke in ſeveral places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarſus, where it arrived the inſtant the Perſians were ſetting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of ſo flouriſhing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had ſent thither with a detachment of horſe, arrived very ſeaſonably to ſtop the progreſs of the fire, and marched into the city, which he ſaved; the Barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river not ſo remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are vaſtly limpid; but at the ſame time exceſſively cold, becauſe of the tufted trees with which its banks are overſhadowed. It was now about the end of ſummer,

* Quintus Curtius ſuppoſes it to be ſo called from Cyrus the Great, and Arrian from the younger Cyrus, which opinion appears the moſt probable.

which is exceſſively hot in Cilicia, and in the hotteſt part of the day, when the king, who was quite covered with ſweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe in that river, invited by the beauty and clearneſs of the ſtream. However, the inſtant he plunged into it, he was ſeized with ſo violent a ſhivering, that all the ſtanders-by fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The news of this ſad diſaſter threw the whole army into the utmoſt conſternation. They all burſt into tears, and breathed their plaints in the following words: "The greateſt prince "that ever lived is torn from us in the midſt of his proſperi- "ties and conqueſts; not in a battle, or at the ſtorming of a "city; but dies by his bathing in a river. Darius, who is "coming up with us, will conquer before he has ſeen his e- "nemy. We ſhall be forced to retire like ſo many fugitives, "thro' thoſe very countries which we entered with triumph; "and as the places through which we muſt paſs are either de- "ſert or depopulated, hunger only, ſhould we meet no other "enemy, will itſelf deſtroy us. But who ſhall guide us in "our flight, or dare to ſet himſelf up in Alexander's ſtead? "And ſhould we be ſo happy as to arrive at the Helleſpont, "how ſhall we furniſh ourſelves with veſſels to croſs it?" After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and forgetting themſelves, they cried aloud, "Alas! how ſad is "it that he, who was our king, and the companion of our "toils; a king, in the flower of his youth, and in the courſe "of his greateſt proſperities; ſhould be taken off, and in a "manner torn from our arms!"

At laſt the king recovered his ſenſes by degrees, and began to know perſons who ſtood round him; though the only ſymptoms he gave of his recovery was his being ſenſible of his illneſs. But he was more indiſpoſed in mind than in body; for news was brought that Darius might ſoon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard fate, in being thus expoſed naked and defenceleſs to his enemy, and robbed of ſo noble a victory, ſince he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obſcurely in his tent, and far from having attained the

glory he had promiſed himſelf. Having ordered his confidents and phyſicians to come into his tent, " You ſee," ſaid he, " my " friends, the ſad extremity to which fortune reduces me. " Methinks I already hear the ſound of the enemy's arms, and " ſee Darius advancing. He undoubtedly held intelligence " with my evil * genius, when he wrote letters to his lieu- " tenants in ſo lofty and contemptuous a ſtrain; however, he " ſhall not obtain his deſire, provided ſuch a cure as I want is " attempted. The preſent condition of my affairs will not ad- " mit either of ſlow remedies or fearful phyſicians. A ſpeedy " death is more eligible to me than a ſlow cure. In caſe the " phyſicians think it is in their power to do me any good, " they are to know, that I do not ſo much wiſh to live as to " fight."

This ſudden impatience of the king ſpread an univerſal alarm. The phyſicians, who were ſenſible they ſhould be anſwerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies; eſpecially as Darius had publiſhed, that he would reward with a thouſand talents † the man who ſhould kill Alexander. However Philip, an Acarnanian, one of his phyſicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, loved him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, not only as his ſovereign, but his child, raiſing himſelf, merely out of affection to Alexander, above all prudential conſiderations, offered to give him a doſe, which, though not very violent, would nevertheleſs be ſpeedy in its effects; and deſired three days to prepare it. At this propoſal every one trembled, but him only whom it moſt concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than becauſe it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip,

* Darius, who imagined himſelf ſure of overcoming Alexander, had writ to his lieutenants, that they ſhould chaſtiſe this young fool; and after clothing him in purple out of deriſion, ſhould ſend him bound hand and foot to the court. Frienſheim in Quint. Curt.

† About L. 145,000 Sterling.

for that Darius had bribed him, by the promiſe of a thouſand talents, and his ſiſter in marriage. This * letter gave him great uneaſineſs, for he was now at full leiſure to weigh all the reaſons he might have to hope or to fear. But the confidence in a phyſician, whoſe ſincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, ſoon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. Upon this he folded up the letter, and put it under his bolſter, without acquainting any one with the contents of it.

The day being come, Philip enters the tent with his medicine; when Alexander taking the letter from under the bolſter, gives it to Philip to read. At the ſame time he takes the cup; and, fixing his eyes on the phyſician, ſwallows the draught without the leaſt heſitation, or without diſcovering the leaſt ſuſpicion or uneaſineſs. Philip, as he peruſed the letter, had ſhewed greater ſigns of indignation than of fear or ſurpriſe; and throwing himſelf upon the king's bed——"Royal Sir," ſays he, with a reſolute tone of voice, "your recovery will ſoon "clear me of the guilt of paricide with which I am charged. "The only favour I beg is, that you would be eaſy in your "own mind, and ſuffer the draught to operate, and not regard "the intelligence yon have received from ſervants, who in-"deed have ſhewn their zeal for your welfare; which zeal, "however, is very indiſcreet and unſeaſonable." Theſe words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; ſo taking Philip by the hand, "Be you yourſelf eaſy," ſays he to him, "for I believe you are diſquieted upon a double "account; firſt for my recovery, and ſecondly for your own "juſtification."

In the mean time, the phyſic worked ſo violently, that the accidents which attended it, ſtrengthened Parmenio's accuſation; for the king loſt his ſpeech, and was ſeized with ſuch ſtrong fainting fits, that he had hardly any pulſe left, or the leaſt ſymptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of phyſic to recover him, and in every lucid interval, diverted him with agreeable ſubjects; diſcourſing one moment about

* Ingentem animo ſolicitudinem literae incuſſerant; et quicquid in utramque partem aut metus aut ſpes ſubjecerat, ſecreta aeſtimatione penſabat. Q. Curt.

his mother and his ſiſters, and another, about the mighty victory which was advancing, with haſty ſteps, to crown his paſt triumphs. At laſt the phyſician's art having gained the aſcendant, and diffuſed through every vein a ſalutary and vivific virtue; his mind firſt began to reſume its former vigour, and afterwards his body, much ſooner than had been expected. Three days after he ſhewed himſelf to the army, who were never ſatisfied with gazing on him, and could ſcarce believe their eyes; ſo much the greatneſs of the danger had ſurpriſed and dejected them. No careſſes were enough for the phyſician; every one embracing him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and returning him thanks as to a god who had ſaved the life of their ſovereign.

Beſides the reſpect which theſe people had naturally for their king, words can never expreſs how greatly they admired this monarch more than any other, and the ſtrong affection they bore him. They were perſuaded, that he did not undertake any thing but by the immediate aſſiſtance of the gods; and as ſucceſs always attended his deſigns, his rathneſs became glorious in him, and ſeemed to have ſomething inexpreſſibly divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of ſuch mighty enterpriſes, and which however overcame all difficulties, gave a freſh merit and a brighter luſtre to his actions. * Beſides certain advantages that generally are little regarded, and which yet engage in a wonderful manner the hearts of the ſoldiery, greatly augmented the merit of Alexander; ſuch as his taking delight in bodily exerciſes; his diſcovering a ſkill and excellency in them; his going clothed like the common ſoldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himſelf with inferiors, without leſſening his dignity; his ſharing in toils and dangers with the moſt laborious and intrepid; qualities which, whether Alexander owed them to nature, or acquired them by reflection, made him equally beloved and reſpected by his ſoldiers.

During this interval, Darius was on his march, full of a vain ſecurity in the infinite number of his troops, and forming a

* Quæ leviora haberi ſolent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo ſunt. Q. Curt.

judgment of the two armies merely from their diſparity in that point. The plains of Aſſyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horſe as he pleaſed, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of ſoldiers in each army gave him; but inſtead of this, he reſolves to march to narrow paſſes, where his cavalry and the multitude of his troops, ſo far from doing him any ſervice, would only encumber one another; and accordingly he advances towards the enemy, for whom he ſhould have waited, and runs viſibly to his own deſtruction. Nevertheleſs, the grandees of his court, whoſe cuſtom it was to flatter and applaud his every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would ſoon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who perſonally hated Alexander, for having cauſed him to be baniſhed from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, aſked, whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the boſom of liberty, and forgetting that he was in a country of ſlavery, where to oppoſe the inclination of a prince is of the moſt dangerous conſequence, replied as follows: "Poſſibly, Sir, you may not be pleaſed with my telling "you the truth; but in caſe I do not do it now, it will be "too late hereafter. This mighty parade of war, this prodi- "gious number of men which has drained all the Eaſt, might "indeed be formidable to your neighbours. Gold and purple "ſhine in every part of your army, which is ſo prodigiouſly "ſplendid, that thoſe who have not ſeen it, could never form "an idea of its magnificence. But the ſoldiers who compoſe "the Macedonian army, terrible to behold, and briſtling in "every part with arms, do not amuſe themſelves with ſuch "idle ſhew. Their only care is to diſcipline, in a regular man- "ner, their battalions, and to cover themſelves cloſe with "their bucklers and piles. Their phalanx is a body of infan- "try, which engages without flinching, and keeps ſo cloſe in "their ranks, that the ſoldiers and their arms form a kind of

" impenetrable work. In a word, every ſingle man among them, " the officers as well as ſoldiers, are ſo well trained up, ſo at- " tentive to the command of their leaders, that, whether they " are to aſſemble under their ſtandards, to turn to the right " or left, to double their ranks, and face about to the enemy " on all ſides, at the leaſt ſignal they make every motion and " evolution of the art of war. But that you may be perſuad- " ed, theſe Macedonians are not invited hither * from the " hopes of gaining gold and ſilver; know, that this excellent " diſcipline has ſubſiſted hitherto by the ſole aid and precepts " of poverty. Are they hungry? they ſatisfy their appetite " with any kind of food. Are they weary? they repoſe them- " ſelves on the bare ground, and in the day-time are always " upon their feet. Do you fancy that the Theſſalian cavalry, " and that of Acarnania and Ætolia, who all are armed cap- " a-pee, are to be repulſed by ſtones hurled from ſlings, and " with ſticks burned at the end? Such troops as are like them- " ſelves will be able to check their career; and ſuccours muſt " be procured from their country, to oppoſe their bravery and " experience. Send therefore thither all the uſeleſs gold and " ſilver which I ſee here, and purchaſe formidable ſoldiers." † Darius was naturally of a mild tractable diſpoſition; but good fortune will corrupt the moſt happy temper. Few monarchs are reſolute and courageous enough to withſtand their own power, to repulſe the flattery of the many people who are perpetually fomenting their paſſions, and to eſteem a man who loves them ſo well, to contradict and diſpleaſe them, in telling them the genuine truth. But Darius, not having ſtrength of mind ſufficient for this, gives orders for dragging to execution a man who had fled to him for protection, was at that time his gueſt, and gave him at that time the beſt counſel that could have been propoſed to him. However, as this cruel treatment could not ſilence Caridemus, he cried aloud, with his uſual freedom: " My avenger is at hand, the very man in op-

* Et, ne auri argentique ſtudio teneri putes, adhuc illa diſciplina paupertate magiſtra ſtetit. Q. Curt.

† Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, niſi etiam ſuam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. Q. Curt. I ſuſpect the particle *ſuam*.

" poſition to whom I gave you counſel; and he will ſoon pu-
" niſh you for deſpiſing it. *As for you, Darius, in whom
" ſovereign power has wrought ſo ſudden a change, you will
" teach poſterity, that when once men abandon themſelves
" to the deluſion of fortune, ſhe eraſes from their minds all
" the ſeeds of goodneſs implanted in them by nature." Darius ſoon repented his having put to death ſo valuable a perſon, and experienced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Euphrates. It was a cuſtom long uſed by the Perſians, never to ſet out upon a march till after ſun-riſe, at which time the trumpet was ſounded for that purpoſe from the king's tent. Over this tent was exhibited to the view of the whole army, the image of the ſun ſet in cryſtal. The order they obſerved in their march was this.

Firſt, they carried ſilver alters, on which there lay fire, called by them ſacred and eternal; and theſe were followed by the Magi, ſinging hymns after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by three hundred and ſixty-five youth, agreeable to the number of days in a year, clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot conſecrated to † Jupiter, drawn by white horſes, and followed by a courſer of a prodigious ſize, to whom they gave the name of the ſun's horſe; and the equerries were dreſſed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with ſculptures in gold and ſilver, followed after. Then marched a body of horſe, compoſed of twelve nations, whoſe manners and cuſtoms were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced thoſe whom the Perſians called the Immortals, amounting to ten thouſand, who ſurpaſſed the reſt of the Barbarians in the ſumptuouſneſs of their apparel. They all wore golden collars; were clothed

* Tu quidem, licentia regni ſubito mutatus documentum eris poſteris, homines, cum ſe permiſere fortunæ, etiam naturam dediſcere. Q. Curt.

† Jupiter was a god unknown to the Perſians. Quintus Curtius therefore, in all probability, calls the firſt and greateſt of their gods by that name.

in robes of gold tiſſue, with ſurtouts, having ſleeves to them, quite covered with precious ſtones.

Thirty paces from them, followed thoſe called the kings couſins or * relations, to the number of fifteen thouſand, in habits very much reſembling thoſe of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dreſs than the glitter of their arms.

Thoſe called the † Doryphori came after: they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he ſeemed to ſit as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both ſides with images of the gods in gold and ſilver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, roſe two ſtatues a cubit in height, the one repreſenting war, the other peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was clothed in a veſt of purple, ſtriped with ſilver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious ſtones, that repreſented two falcons ruſhing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waiſt he wore a ‡ golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his ſcimitar hung, the ſcabbard of which flamed all other with gems. On his head he wore a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each ſide of him walked two hundred of his neareſt relations followed by ten thouſand pikemen, whoſe pikes were adorned with ſilver, and tipped with gold; and laſtly, thirty thouſand infantry who compoſed the rear-guard. Theſe were followed by the king's horſes, four hundred in number, all which were led.

About an hundred, or one hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Syſigambis, Darius's mother, ſeated on a chariot, and his conſort on another, with the ſeveral female attendants of both queens riding on horſeback. Afterwards came fifteen

* This was a title of dignity. Poſſibly a great number of the king's relations were in this body.

† Theſe were guards who carried a half pike.

‡ Cidaris.

Pl XIX

A MAP
Of the Places adjacent to
ISSUS
To facilitate the Understanding of the Marches of Alexander and Darius, towards that City

large chariots, in which were the king's children, and thoſe who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great eſteem with thoſe nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and ſixty in the equipage of queens, followed by ſix hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treaſure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After theſe came the wives of the crown officers, and of the greateſt lords of the court; then the ſutlers and ſervants of the army, ſeated alſo in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who cloſed the whole march.

Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the deſcription of a tournament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the leaſt reaſon would have been ſo ſtupid, as to incorporate with their forces ſo cumberſome a train of women, princeſſes, concubines, eunuchs, and domeſtics of both ſexes? But the cuſtom of the country was reaſon ſufficient. Darius, at the head of ſix hundred thouſand men, and ſurrounded with this mighty pomp, prepared for himſelf only, fancied he was great, and roſe in the idea he had formed of himſelf. Yet ſhould we reduce him to his juſt proportion and his perſonal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the ſame judgment. But it is time for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

SECTION V.

ALEXANDER gains a famous VICTORY over DARIUS at ISSUS. CONSEQUENCES of that VICTORY.

For the clearer underſtanding of Alexander's march[d], and that of Darius, and the better fixing the ſituation of the ſpot where the ſecond battle was fought, we muſt diſtinguiſh three ſtraits or paſſes. [e] The firſt of theſe is immediately at the de-

[d] A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

[e] Diod. l. xvii. p. 513—518. Arrian l. ii. p. 66—81. Plut. in Alex. p. 675, 676. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1—5. Juſtin l. xi. c. 9.

ſcent from Mount Taurus, in the way to the city of Tarſus, through which, as has been already ſeen, Alexander marched from Cappadocia into Cilicia. The ſecond is the paſs of Cilicia or Syria, leading from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the paſs of Amanus, ſo called from that mountain. This paſs, which leads into Cilicia from Aſſyria, is much higher than the paſs of Syria, northward.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to ſeize the paſs of Syria, in order to ſecure it for his march. As for himſelf, after marching from Tarſus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is ſaid to have built. His tomb was ſtill to be ſeen in that city with this inſcription, "Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarſus in one "day; GO PASSENGER, EAT, DRINK, AND REJOICE, FOR THE "REST IS NOTHING." From thence he came to Solae, where he offered ſacrifices to Æſculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himſelf headed the ceremony with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army; and he there ſolemnized games; after which he returned to Tarſus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the plains of Aleius, towards the river Pyramus, he himſelf went with the infantry and his life-guard to Magarſus, whence he arrived Mallos, and afterwards at Caſtabala. Advice had been brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Aſſyria, two days journey from Cilicia. There Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to march towards Darius, he ſet out the next day to give him battle. Parmenio had taken the little city of Iſſus; and, after poſſeſſing himſelf of the paſs of Syria, had left a body of forces to ſecure it. The king left the ſick in Iſſus, marched his whole army through the paſs, and encamped near the city of Myriandrus, where the badneſs of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Aſſyria, of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his ſervice, and formed the chief ſtrength of his army, adviſed him to wait there the coming up of the enemy. For, beſides that

this ſpot was open on all ſides, and very advantageous for his horſe, it was ſpacious enough to contain his vaſtly numerous hoſt, with all the baggage and other things belonging to the army. However, if he ſhould not approve of their counſel, they then adviſed him to ſeparate this multitude, and ſelect ſuch only as were the flower of his troops; and conſequently not venture his whole army upon a ſingle battle, which perhaps might be deciſive. However, the courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian obſerves, for ever abound, called theſe Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counſelling the king to divide his troops, was, that after they ſhould once be ſeparated from the reſt, they might have an eaſier opportunity of delivering up into the enemy's hands whatever might be in their power; but that the ſafeſt way would be, to ſurround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as an illuſtrious example of the puniſhment due to traitors. This propoſal was vaſtly ſhocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane diſpoſition. He therefore anſwered, "That he was far from ever deſigning to "commit ſo horrible a crime; that ſhould he be guilty of it, "no nation would afterwards give the leaſt credit to his pro-"miſes: That it was never known that a perſon had been put "to death for giving imprudent counſel *; that no man would "ever venture to give his opinion, if it were attended with "ſuch danger: a circumſtance that would be of the moſt fatal "conſequences to princes." He then thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good-will, and condeſcended to lay before them the reaſons which prompted him not to follow their advice.

The courtiers had perſuaded Darius, that Alexander's long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an effect of the terror with which the approach of the Perſian army had filled him; for they had not heard a word of his indiſpoſition; that fortune, merely for their ſake, had led Alexander into ſtraits and narrow paſſes, whence it would be impoſſible for

* Neminem ſtolidum conſilium capite luere debere; defuturos enim qui ſuaderent, ſi ſuaſiſſe periculum eſſet. Q. Curt.

him to get out, in caſe they ſhould fall upon him immediately; that they ought to ſeize this favourable opportunity, for fear the enemy ſhould fly, by which means Alexander would eſcape them. Upon this, it was reſolved in council, that the army ſhould march in ſearch of him; the gods, ſays an hiſtorian [f], blinding the eyes of that prince, that he might ruſh down the precipice they had prepared for him, and thereby make way for the deſtruction of the Perſian monarchy.

Darius having ſent his treaſure with his moſt precious moveables to Damaſcus, a city of Syria, under a ſmall convoy, marched the main body of his army towards Cilicia, and entered it by the paſs of Amanus, which lies far above the paſſes of Syria. His queen and mother, with the princeſſes his daughters, and the little prince his ſon, followed the army, according to the cuſtom of the Perſians, but were in the camp during the battle. When he had advanced a little way into Cilicia, from eaſt weſtward, he turned ſhort towards Iſſus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been aſſured that this prince fled before him, and was retired in great diſorder into Syria; and therefore Darius was now conſidering how he might beſt purſue him. He barbarouſly put to death all the ſick who were then in the city of Iſſus, a few ſoldiers excepted, whom he diſmiſſed, after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be ſpectators of the prodigious multitude of his forces. Theſe ſoldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could ſcarce believe from its great improbability, though there was nothing he deſired more earneſtly. But he himſelf was ſoon an eye-witneſs to the truth of it, upon which he began to think ſeriouſly of preparing for battle.

Alexander, fearing, as the Barbarians were ſo numerous, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and paliſadoes, diſcovering an incredible joy to ſee his deſire fulfilled, which was, to engage in thoſe paſſes, whither the gods ſeemed to have led Darius expreſsly to deliver him into his hands.

And, indeed, this ſpot of ground, which was but wide e-

[f] Arrian.

nough for a ſmall army to act and move at liberty in, reduced, in ſome meaſure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had ſpace ſufficient to employ their whole army; whereas the Perſians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheleſs Alexander, as frequently happens to the greateſt captains, felt ſome emotion when he ſaw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other ſide, his courage revived from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at leaſt hoped to die glorioufly, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge theſe thoughts to any one, well knowing, that upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to diſcover the leaſt marks of ſadneſs or perplexity; and that the troops ſhould read nothing but reſolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his ſoldiers refreſh themſelves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went † to the top of a mountain, and there by torch-light, ſacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater ſpeed, arrived by day-break at the ſeveral poſts aſſigned them: But now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king cauſed his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle array. The peaſants in the greateſt terror came alſo and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at firſt believe, imagining, as we have obſerved, that Alexander fled before him, and endeavoured to eſcape. This news threw his troops into the utmoſt confuſion, who in that ſurpriſe ran to their arms with great precipitation and diſorder.

The ſpot where the battle was fought, lay near the city of Iſſus, which the mountains bounded on one ſide, and the ſea

† The ancients uſed to offer up their ſacrifices upon eminences.

on the other. The plain, that was ſituated between them both, muſt have been conſiderably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before obſerved, that Darius's was vaſtly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the ſea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulf; the extremity of which in a curve line bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He poſted at the extremity of the right wing, which ſtood near the mountains, the † Argyraſpides, commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Coenus; and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he poſted the phalanx of Amyntas; then that of Ptolemy; and laſtly, that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was compoſed of ſix diſtinct corps or brigades. Each of theſe bodies was headed by able generals; but Alexander, being always generaliſſimo, had conſequently the command of the whole army. The horſe were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Theſſalians, on the right, and thoſe of Peloponneſus, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot, which compoſed the left wing; and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reſerved to himſelf the command of the right. He had deſired Parmenio to keep as near the ſea as poſſible, to prevent the Barbarians from ſurrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at ſome diſtance from the mountains, to keep himſelf out of the reach of the arrows diſcharged by thoſe who were poſted on them. He covered the horſe of his right wing with the light-horſe of Protomachus and the Paeonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reſerved the ‡ Agrians, commanded by Attalus, who were greatly eſteemed, and ſome forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppoſe thoſe Darius had poſted on the mountains.

† This was a body of infantry, diſtinguiſhed by their ſilver ſhields, but much more ſo by their great bravery.

‡ Agria was a city between the mountains Haemus and Rhodope.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle array, he commanded thirty thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand bowmen to croſs the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither ſide. In the centre he poſted the thirty thouſand Greeks in his ſervice, who, doubtleſs, were the flower and chief ſtrength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thouſand Cardacians on their right, and as many on their left; the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number. Theſe were all heavily armed. The reſt of the infantry, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral nations, were ranged behind the firſt line. It is pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of thoſe two lines; but it muſt have been prodigious, if we conſider the extreme narrowneſs of the paſs, and the amazing multitude of the Perſian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, againſt Alexander's right wing, Darius poſted twenty thouſand men, who were ſo ranged, in the ſeveral windings of the mountain, that ſome were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having ſet his army in battle array, made his horſe croſs the river again, and diſpatched the greateſt part of them towards the ſea againſt Parmenio, becauſe they could fight on that ſpot with the greateſt advantage: The reſt of his cavalry he ſent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that theſe would be of no ſervice on that ſide, becauſe of the too great narrowneſs of the ſpot, he cauſed a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himſelf, he took his poſt in the centre of his army, purſuant to the cuſtom of the Perſian monarchs.

Alexander, obſerving that moſt of the enemy's horſe was to oppoſe his left wing, which conſiſted only of thoſe of Peloponneſus, and of ſome other allies, detached immediately to it the Theſſalian cavalry, which he cauſed to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being ſeen by the Barbarians. On the ſame ſide, the left, he poſted, before his foot,

the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitacles, a king of Thrace, who were covered by the horſe. The foreigners in his ſervice were behind all the reſt.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend ſo far as the left of the Perſians, which might ſurround and attack it in flank, he drew from the centre of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being ſeen by the enemy. He alſo reinforced that wing of his forces which he had oppoſed to the Barbarians on the mountains; for, ſeeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and ſome other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards the ſummit of it; ſo that he left only three hundred horſe to keep them in, and ſent the reſt, as I obſerved, to reinforce his right wing, which by this means extended farther than that of the Perſians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very ſlowly, that his ſoldiers might take a little breath; ſo that it was ſuppoſed they would not engage till very late: For Darius ſtill continued with his army on the other ſide of the river, in order not to loſe the advantageous ſituation of his poſt; and even cauſed ſuch parts of the ſhore as were not craggy to be ſecured with paliſadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in ſight, Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their ſeveral names, the principal officers, both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the ſoldiers to ſignalize themſelves, ſpeaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and diſpoſition. To the Macedonians he repreſented "the victories they had formerly gained in Europe; the ſtill recent glory of the battle of "the Granicus; the great number of cities and provinces "they had left behind them; all which they had ſubdued." He added, that "by one ſingle victory they would poſſeſs "themſelves of the Perſian empire; and that the ſpoils of "the Eaſt would be the reward of their bravery and toils." The Greeks he animated, "by the remembrance of the many calamities which the Perſians, thoſe irreconcileable ene-

" mies to Greece, had brought upon them;" and ſet before them " the famous battles of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of " Salamis, of Plataea, and the many others, by which they " had acquired immortal glory." He bid the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who uſed to ſubſiſt by plunder and rapine, " view the enemy's army, every part of which ſhone with gold " and purple, and was not loaded ſo much with arms as with " booty. That they therefore ſhould puſh forward, they " who were men, and ſtrip all thoſe women of their orna- " ments; and exchange their mountains, covered perpetual- " ly with ice and ſnow, for the ſmiling plains and rich fields " of Perſia." The moment he had ended, the whole army ſet up a ſhout, and eagerly deſired to be led on directly againſt the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at firſt very ſlowly, to prevent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from breaking, and halted by intervals; but when he was got within bow-ſhot, he commanded all his right wing to plunge impetuouſly into the river, purpoſely that they might ſurpriſe the barbarians, come ſooner to a cloſe engagement, and be leſs expoſed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very ſucceſsful. Both ſides fought with the utmoſt bravery and reſolution; and being now forced to fight cloſe, they charged on both ſides ſword in hand, when a dreadful ſlaughter enſued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his ſword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private ſoldier and of a commander, wiſhed nothing ſo ardently as the glory of killing, with his own hand, Darius; who being ſeated on a high chariot, was conſpicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object, both to encourage his own ſoldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before; ſo that a great number of Perſian noblemen were killed. Each ſide fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, obſerving that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmoſt vigour, ruſhed before his chariot with the horſe under his command, and diſtin-

guiſhed himſelf above all the reſt. The horſes that drew Darius's chariot, being quite covered with wounds, began to prance about; and ſhook the yoke ſo violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king; who, ſeeing himſelf going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The reſt obſerving this, fled as faſt as poſſible; and, throwing down their arms, made the beſt of their way. Alexander had received a ſlight wound in his thigh; but happily it was not attended with ill conſequences.

Whilſt part of the Macedonian infantry, poſted to the right, were carrying on the advantages they had gained againſt the Perſians, the remainder of them, who engaged the Greeks, met with greater reſiſtance. Theſe obſerving that the body of infantry in queſtion were no longer covered by the right wing of Alexander's army, which was purſuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to puſh the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the diſorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians alſo ſignalized themſelves with the utmoſt bravery, in order to preſerve the advantage which Alexander had juſt before gained, and ſupport the honour of their phalanx, which had always been conſidered as invincible. There was alſo a perpetual jealouſy between theſe two nations, the Greeks and Macedonians, which greatly increaſed their courage, and made the reſiſtance on each ſide very vigorous. On Alexander's ſide, Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus loſt his life, with an hundred and twenty more conſiderable officers, who all had behaved with the utmoſt gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who oppoſed it, wheeled to the left againſt thoſe Greeks who were fighting with the reſt of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorouſly; and attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Perſian cavalry which was in the right wing, without waiting for their

being attacked by the Macedonians, had croſſed the river, and ruſhed upon the Theſſalian horſe, ſeveral of whoſe ſquadrons were broke by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuoſity of the firſt charge, and oblige the Perſians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy. The Perſians ſeeing this, were filled with boldneſs and confidence; and thereupon the greateſt part of them, advancing without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of purſuing the enemy. Upon this the Theſſalians, ſeeing them in ſuch confuſion, faced about on a ſudden, and renewed the fight with freſh ardour. The Perſians made a brave defence, till they ſaw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Perſian cavalry completed the defeat of the army. The Perſian horſe ſuffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that, as they retired in diſorder, and crowded in great numbers through paſſes, they bruiſed and unhorſed one another, and were more annoyed by their own ſoldiers than by the enemy. Beſides, the Theſſalian cavalry purſued them with ſo much fury, that they were as much ſhattered as the infantry, and loſt as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before obſerved, the inſtant he ſaw his left wing broke, he was one of the firſt who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy rugged places, he mounted on horſeback, throwing down his bow, ſhield and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to purſue him, till he ſaw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Perſian horſe put to flight; which was of great advantage to the prince that fled.

About eight thouſand of the Greeks that were in Darius's ſervice, with their officers at their head, who were very brave, retired over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where, finding the tranſports which had brought them from Leſbos upon dry ground, they fitted out as many of them as ſuited their purpoſe, and burned the reſt, to prevent their being purſued.

As for the Barbarians, having exerted themſelves with bravery enough in the firſt attack, they afterwards gave way in the moſt ſhameful manner; and, being intent upon nothing but ſaving themſelves, they took different ways. Some ſtruck into the high road which led directly to Perſia; others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a ſmall number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Syſigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen, who alſo was his ſiſter, remained in it, with two of the king's daughters, a ſon of his, a child, and ſome Perſian ladies. For the reſt had been carried to Damaſcus, with part of Darius's treaſure, and all ſuch things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thouſand talents * were found in his camp; but the reſt of the treaſure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damaſcus.

[g] Alexander, weary of purſuing Darius, ſeeing night draw on, and that it would be impoſſible for him to overtake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his ſoldiers had juſt before plundered. Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign. The Perſians †, either in the engagement or the rout, loſt a great number of their forces, both horſe and foot; but very few were killed on Alexander's ſide.

That very evening he invited the grandees of his court, and his chief officers, to a feaſt, at which he himſelf was preſent, notwithſtanding the wound he had received, it having only grazed the ſkin. But they were no ſooner ſet down at table, than they heard, from a neighbouring tent, a great noiſe, intermixed with groans, which frighted all the company; inſomuch that the ſoldiers, who were upon guard before the king's tent, ran to their arms, being afraid of an inſurrection.

[g] A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

* About L. 440,000 Sterling.

† According to Quintus Curtius and Arrian, the Perſians loſt 100,000 foot and 10,000 horſe. And the former hiſtorian relates, that no more than 150 horſe and 300 foot, were loſt on Alexander's ſide, which does not ſeem very probable.

But it was found, that the perſons who made this clamour were the mother and wife of Darius, and the reſt of the captive ladies, who, ſuppoſing that prince dead, bewailed his loſs, according to the cuſtom of the Barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. An eunuch, who had ſeen Darius's cloak in the hands of a ſoldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards ſtripped him of that garment, had carried them that falſe account.

We are told that Alexander, upon being told the reaſon of this falſe alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he conſidered the ſad calamity of Darius, and the tender diſpoſition of thoſe princeſſes, whom his misfortunes only affected. He thereupon ſent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to aſſure them, that the man whoſe death they bewailed, was alive. Leonatus, taking ſome ſoldiers with him, came to the tent of the princeſſes, and ſent word, that he was come to pay them a viſit in the king's name. The perſons, who were at the entrance of the tent, ſeeing a band of armed men, imagined that their miſtreſſes were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their laſt hour was come, and that ſoldiers were diſpatched to murder them; ſo that theſe princeſſes, being ſeized with the utmoſt diſtraction, did not make the leaſt anſwer, but waited in deep ſilence for the orders of the conqueror. At laſt, Leonatus having ſtaid a long time, and ſeeing no one appear, left his ſoldiers at the door, and came into the tent: But their terror increaſed, when they ſaw a man enter among them, without being introduced. They thereupon threw themſelves at his feet, and intreated, that "before he put them to death, they might be allowed to bury "Darius after the manner of their country; and that when "they had paid this laſt duty to their king, they ſhould die "contented." Leonatus anſwered, "That Darius was living; "and that ſo far from giving them any offence, they ſhould "be treated as queens, and live in their former ſplendor." Syſigambis, hearing this, began to recover her ſpirits, and permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raiſe her from the ground.

The next day Alexander, after viſiting the wounded, cauſed the laſt honours to be paid to the dead, in preſence of the whole army, drawn up in the moſt ſplendid order of battle. He treated the Perſians of diſtinction in the ſame manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury whatever perſons ſhe pleaſed, according to the cuſtoms and ceremonies practiſed in her country. However, this prudent princeſs uſed that permiſſion in regard only to a few who were her near relations; and that with ſuch a modeſty and reſerve as ſhe thought ſuited her preſent condition. The king teſtified his joy and gratitude to the whole army, eſpecially to the chief officers, whoſe actions he applauded in the ſtrongeſt terms, as well thoſe of which he himſelf had been an eye-witneſs, as ſuch as had been only related to him; and he made preſents to all, according to their merit and ſtation.

After Alexander had performed theſe ſeveral duties, truly worthy a great monarch, he ſent a meſſage to the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay them a viſit; and accordingly, commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephaeſtion. He was his favourite, and as they had been brought up together, the king revealed his ſecrets to him, and nobody elſe dared to ſpeak ſo freely to him *; but even Hephaeſtion made ſo cautious and diſcreet an uſe of that liberty, that he ſeemed to take it, not ſo much out of inclination, as from a deſire to obey the king, who would have it ſo. They were of the ſame age; but Hephaeſtion was taller; ſo that the queens took him at firſt for the king, and paid him their reſpects as ſuch: But ſome captive eunuchs ſhewing them Alexander, Syſigambis fell proſtrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as ſhe had never ſeen him, ſhe hoped that conſideration would plead her apology. The king, raiſing her from the ground, "Dear mother," ſays he, "you are not miſtaken; for he alſo "is an Alexander †:" A fine expreſſion which does honour to

* Libertatis quoque in eo admonendo non alius jus habebat; quod tamen ita uſurpabat, ut magis a rege permiſſum quam vindicatum ab eo videretur. Quintus Curtius.

† O donum inclytae vocis, danti pariter atque accipienti ſpecioſum! Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7.

both! Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have juſtly merited the title of Great; but fortune had not yet corrupted his ſoul *. He bore her at firſt with moderation and wiſdom; but at laſt ſhe overpowered him, and he became unable to reſiſt her.

Syſigambis, ſtrongly affected with theſe teſtimonies of goodneſs and humanity, could not forbear teſtifying her gratitude upon that account. "Great prince," ſaid ſhe to him, "what "words ſhall I find to expreſs my thanks, in ſuch a manner "as may anſwer your generoſity! You call me your mother, "and honour me ſtill with the title of queen, whereas I con- "feſs myſelf your captive. †I know what I have been, and "what I now am. I know the whole extent of my paſt gran- "deur; and find I can ſupport all the weight of my preſent "ill fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you now have "an abſolute power over us, to make us feel it by your cle- "mency only, and not by ill treatment."

The king, after comforting the princeſſes, took Darius's ſon in his arms. This little child, without diſcovering the leaſt terror, embraced Alexander; who being affected with his confidence, and turning about to Hephaeſtion, ſaid to him: "O "that Darius had had ſome portion of this tender diſpoſition!"

It is certain that Darius, in the beginning of his reign, behaved in ſuch a manner, that he ſurpaſſed, in clemency and goodneſs, all the kings his predeceſſors; and was ſuperior to a paſſion which conquers and enſlaves the ſtrongeſt. Darius's conſort was the moſt lovely princeſs in the world, as he himſelf was the moſt beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and moſt majeſtic ſhape; and the princeſſes their daughters reſembled them. They were, ſays Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a ſacred temple, and a ſanctuary aſſigned for the aſylum of chaſtity, in which all the princeſſes lived ſo retired, that they were not ſeen by any perſon, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

* Sed nondum fortuna ſe animo ejus infuderat. Itaque orientem eam moderate et prudenter tulit: ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit. Q. Curt.

† Et praeteritae fortunae faſtigium capio, et praeſentis jugum pati poſſum. Q. Curtius.

We even find, that after the firſt viſit above mentioned, which was a reſpectful and ceremonious one, Alexander, to avoid expoſing himſelf to the dangers of human frailty, took a ſolemn reſolution never to viſit Darius's queen any more [h]. He himſelf informs us of this memorable circumſtance, in a letter wrote by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians, who had forced the wives of ſome foreign ſoldiers. In this letter the following words were read: "For, as to myſelf, it will be found "that I neither ſaw, nor would ſee, the wife of Darius; and "did not ſuffer any perſon to ſpeak of her beauty before me." We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious, and free, that is, not engaged in marriage, as has been obſerved of the firſt Scipio on a like occaſion [i]. "Et juvenis, "et coelebs, et victor."

To conclude, he treated theſe princeſſes with ſuch humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives could have made them ſenſible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they poſſeſſed before, nothing was wanting with regard to Alexander, but that truſt and confidence, which no one can repoſe in an enemy, how kindly ſoever he behaves.

SECTION VI.

ALEXANDER marches victorious into SYRIA. Lays ſiege to TYRE, which he takes by STORM.

ALEXANDER [k] ſet out towards Syria, after having conſecrated three altars on the river Pinarius, the firſt to Jupiter, the ſecond to Hercules, and the third to Minerva, as ſo many monuments of his victory. He had ſent Parmenio to Damaſcus, in which Darius's treaſure was depoſited. The governor of the city, betraying his ſovereign, from whom he had now no further expectations, wrote to Alexander to acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver up into his hands all the treaſure and other rich ſtores of Darius. But being deſirous of covering his trea-

h Plut. in Alex.

i Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

k Diod. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 10.

ſon with a ſpecious pretext, he pretended that he was not ſecure in the city; ſo cauſed, by day-break, all the money and the richeſt things in it to be put on men's backs, and fled away with the whole, ſeemingly with intention to ſecure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addreſſed to the king. At the firſt ſight of the forces which this general headed, thoſe who carried the burdens being frighted, threw them down, and fled away; as did the ſoldiers who convoyed them, and the governor himſelf, who was moſt terrified. On this occaſion immenſe riches were ſeen ſcattered up and down the fields; all the gold and ſilver deſigned to pay ſo great an army; the ſplendid equipages of ſo many great lords and ladies; the golden vaſes and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their drivers; in a word, whatever the long proſperity and frugality of ſo many kings had amaſſed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.

But the moſt moving part of this ſad ſcene was, to ſee the wives of the ſatraps and grandees of Perſia, moſt of whom dragged their little children after him; ſo much the greater objects of compaſſion, as they were leſs ſenſible of their misfortune. Among theſe were three young princeſſes, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greateſt lord of the court, and his ſon Ilioneus. There alſo were taken priſoners the wife and ſon of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coaſts; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and ſon of Memnon, that illuſtrious general; inſomuch, that ſcarce one noble family in all Perſia but ſhared in this calamity.

There alſo was found in Damaſcus the ambaſſadors of the Grecian cities, particularly thoſe of Lacedemonia and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a ſafe aſylum, when he put them under the protection of that traitor.

Beſides money, and plate which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immenſe ſums, thirty thouſand men, and ſeven thouſand beaſts laden with baggage, were taken. We find,

by Parmenio's letter [1] to Alexander, that he found in Damaſcus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all admirably well ſkilled in muſic; and alſo a multitude of officers, whoſe buſineſs was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; ſuch as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and eſſences, to dreſs viands, to make pies, and all things in the paſtry way; to preſide over the wine-cellars, to give out the wine, and ſuch like. There were four hundred and ninety-two of theſe officers; a train worthy a prince who runs to his deſtruction!

Darius, who a few hours before was at the head of ſo mighty and ſplendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a deſert or vaſt ſolitude. This ill-fated prince rode ſwiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants; for all had not taken the ſame road, and moſt of thoſe who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horſes. At laſt he arrived at * Sochus, where he aſſembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to four thouſand men, including Perſians as well as foreigners; and from hence he made all poſſible haſte to Thapſacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damaſcus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewiſe of the captives. Moſt of the cities of Syria ſurrendered at the firſt approaches of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he ſtiled himſelf king, without beſtowing that title on Alexander. He commanded, rather than intreated him, "to aſk "any ſum of money he ſhould think proper by way of ran"ſom for his mother, his wife, and children. That with "regard to their diſpute for empire, he might, if he thought

[1] Athen. l. xiii. p. 607.

* This city was two or three days journey from the place where the battle was fought.

" proper, decide it in one general battle, to which both parties " ſhould bring an equal number of troops: But that in caſe " he were ſtill capable of good counſel, he would adviſe him " to reſt contented with the kingdom of his anceſtors, and " not invade that of another; that they ſhould henceforward " live as good friends and faithful allies; that he himſelf was " ready to ſwear to the obſervance of theſe articles, and to " receive Alexander's oath."

This letter, which breathed ſo unſeaſonable a pride and haughtineſs, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following anſwer: " Alexander the king to Da- " rius. The ancient Darius, whoſe name you aſſume, in " former times entirely ruined the Greeks who inhabit the " coaſts of the Helleſpont, and the Ionians, our ancient co- " lonies. He next croſſed the ſea at the head of a powerful " army, and carried the war into the very heart of Macedo- " nia and Greece. After him, Xerxes made another deſcent " with a dreadful number of Barbarians, in order to fight us; " and having been overcome in a naval engagement, he left, " at his retiring, Mardonius in Greece, who plundered our " cities, and laid waſte our plains. But who has not heard, " that Philip, my father, was aſſaſſinated by wretches ſuborn- " ed thereto by your partiſans, in hopes of a great reward? " For it is cuſtomary with the Perſians to undertake impious " wars, and, when armed in the field, to ſet a price upon the " heads of their enemies. And even you yourſelf, though at " the head of a vaſt army, however, promiſed a thouſand ta- " lents to any perſon who ſhould kill me. I therefore only " defend myſelf, and conſequently am not the aggreſſor. And " indeed the gods, who always declare for the juſt cauſe, have " favoured my arms; and, aided by their protection, I have " ſubjected a great part of Aſia, and defeated you, Darius, in " a pitched battle. However, though I ought not to grant " any requeſt you make, ſince you have not acted fairly in " this war; nevertheleſs, in caſe you will appear before me in " a ſupplicating poſture, I give you my word, that I will reſtore " to you, without any ranſom, your mother, your wife, and

" children. I will let you ſee, that I know how to conquer, " and to oblige the conquered *. If you are afraid of fur- " rendering yourſelf to me, I now aſſure you, upon my honour, " that you may do it without the leaſt danger: But remem- " ber, when you next write to me, that you write not only " to a king, but to your king." Therſippus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander, marching from thence into Phoenicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Every one ſubmitted as he advanced; but no people did this with greater pleaſure than the Sidonians. We have ſeen in what manner Ochus had deſtroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the ſword After he was returned into Perſia, ſuch of the citizens, who, upon account of their traffic, or for ſome other cauſe, had been abſent, and by that means had eſcaped the maſſacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained ſo violent a hatred of the Perſians, that they were overjoyed at this opporrunity to throw off their yoke; and indeed they were the firſt in that country who ſubmitted to the king by their deputies, in oppoſition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephaeſtion to elect in his ſtead whomſoever of the Sidonians he ſhould judge worthy of ſo exalted a ſtation.

This favourite was quartered at the houſe of two brothers, who were young, and of the moſt conſiderable family in the city; to theſe he offered the crown: But they refuſed it, telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no perſon could aſcend the throne, unleſs he were of the blood royal. Hephaeſtion, admiring this greatneſs of ſoul, which could contemn what others ſtrive to obtain by fire and ſword; " Con- " tinue," ſays he to them, " in this way of thinking; you, who " before were ſenſible that it is much more glorious to re- " fuſe a diadem, than to accept it. However, name me ſome " perſon of the royal family, who may remember, when he is " king, that it was you ſet the crown upon his head." The brothers, obſerving that ſeveral through exceſſive ambition

* Et vincere, et conſulere victis ſcio. Q. Curt.

aſpired to this high ſtation, and to obtain it paid a ſervile court to Alexander's favourites, declared, that they did not know any perſon more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, deſcended, though at a great diſtance, from the royal line; but who, at the ſame time, was ſo poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day labour in a garden without the city. His honeſty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to ſo extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the claſhing of the arms which had ſhaken all Aſia.

Immediately the two brothers went in ſearch of Abdolonymus with the royal garments, and found him weeding his garden. They then ſaluted him king; and one of them addreſſed him thus: "You muſt now change your tatters for "the dreſs I have brought you. Put off the mean and con- "temptible habit in which you have grown old; * aſſume the "ſentiments of a prince; but when you are ſeated on the "throne, continue to preſerve the virtue which made you "worthy of it. And when you ſhall have aſcended it, and "by that means become the ſupreme diſpenſer of life and "death over all your citizens, be ſure never to forget the con- "dition in which, or rather for which, you was elected." Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream; and, unable to gueſs the meaning of it, aſked if they were not aſhamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as he made a greater reſiſtance than ſuited their inclinations, they themſelves waſhed him, and threw over his ſhoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earneſt, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately ſpread over the whole city. Moſt of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it; but ſome murmured, eſpecially the rich, who, deſpiſing Abdolonymus's former abject ſtate, could not forbear ſhewing their reſentments upon that account in the king's court. Alexander com-

* Cape regis animum, et in eam fortunam, qua dignus es, illam continentiam profer. Et, cum in regali ſolio reſidebis, vitae necisque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviſcaris hujus ſtatus in quo accipis regnum, imo Le.cule, propter quem. Quint. Curt.

manded the new-elected prince to be sent for; and, after surveying him attentively a long time, spoke thus: "Thy * air "and mien do not contradict what is related of thy ex- "traction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of "mind thou didst bear thy poverty."——"Would to the "gods," replied he, "that I may bear this crown with equal "patience. These hands have procured me all I desired; "and whilst I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

[m] Syria and Phoenicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the Queen of the Sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered, not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians sent him an embassy with presents for himself, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their master; so that when he discovered a desire of entering their city, in order to offer a sacrifice to Hercules,

[m] Diod. l. xvii. p. 518—525. Arrian. l. ii. p. 87—100. Plut. in Alex. p. 678—697. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3, 4. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.

* Corporis, iniquit, habitus, famae generis non repugnat. Sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris. Tum ille: utinam, inquit, eodem animo regnum † pati possim! Hae manus sufficere desiderio meo. Nihil habenti, nihil defuit. Q. Curt.

† The thought is beautiful and just. He considers the regal power as a burden more difficult to be borne than poverty; regnum pati.

its tutelar god, they refuſed him admiſſion. But this conqueror, after gaining ſo many victories, had too high an heart to put up ſuch an affront, and thereupon was reſolved to force them to it by a ſiege, which they, on the other ſide, were determined to ſuſtain with the utmoſt vigour. The ſpring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time ſeated in an iſland of the ſea, about a quarter of a * league from the continent. It was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall an hundred and fifty feet high, which the waves of the ſea waſhed; and the Carthaginians, a colony from Tyre, a mighty people, and ſovereigns of the ocean, whoſe ambaſſadors were at that time in the city, offering to Hercules, according to ancient cuſtom, an annual ſacrifice, had engaged themſelves to ſuccour the Tyrians. It was this made them ſo haughty. Firmly determined not to ſurrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men, and build workhouſes for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city; ſo that every part reſounded with the noiſe of warlike preparations. They likewiſe caſt iron grapples, to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as alſo cramp-irons, and ſuch like inſtruments, invented for the defence of cities.

Alexander imagined that there were eſſential reaſons why he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of Tyre. He was ſenſible that he could not invade Egypt eaſily, ſo long as the Perſians ſhould be maſters of the ſea; nor purſue Darius with ſafety, in caſe he ſhould leave behind him ſo large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which were either enemies, or ſuſpected to be ſo. He likewiſe was afraid, leſt ſome inſurrection ſhould break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after having retaken in his abſence the maritime cities of Aſia Minor, and increaſed their fleet, would make his country the ſeat of war, during his being employed in purſuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. Theſe apprehenſions were the more juſtly grounded, as the Lacedaemonians had declared openly againſt him; and the Athenians ſided with him more out of fear than affection. But that, in caſe he ſhould conquer Tyre, all Phoenicia being then ſubject

* Four furlongs.

to him, he would be able to diſpoſſeſs the Perſians of half their naval army, which conſiſted of the fleet of that province; and would ſoon make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Cyprus and of Egypt, which could not reſiſt him the inſtant he was become maſter at ſea.

On the other ſide, one would have imagined, that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the battle of Iſſus, ought to have purſued Darius vigorouſly, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him, nor allowed him time to raiſe a new army; the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and ſuperior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in caſe Alexander ſhould not be able to take this city, which was not very unlikely, he would diſcredit his own arms, would loſe the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chaſtiſe the pride of Tyre, as will be ſeen hereafter, did not once permit thoſe thoughts to enter his mind; but determined him to lay ſiege to the place, in ſpite of all the difficulties which oppoſed ſo hazardous a deſign, and the many reaſons which ſhould have prompted him to purſue quite different meaſures.

It was impoſſible to come near this city in order to ſtorm it, without making a bank which would reach from the continent to the iſland; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were ſeemingly inſurmountable. The little arm of the ſea, which ſeparated the iſland from the continent, was expoſed to the weſt wind, which often raiſed ſuch dreadful ſtorms there, that the waves would in an inſtant ſweep away all works. Beſides, as the city was ſurrounded on all ſides by the ſea, there was no fixing ſcaling-ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a diſtance in the ſhips; and the wall, which projected into the ſea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines, which might have been put on board the galleys, could not do much execution, the waves were ſo very tumultuous.

But nothing was capable of checking or vanquiſhing the reſolution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city at any rate. However, as the few veſſels he poſſeſſed lay at a great diſtance from him, and the ſiege of ſo ſtrong a place might poſſibly laſt a long time, and ſo retard his other enterpriſes, he thought proper to endeavour an accommodation. Accordingly, he ſent heralds, who propoſed a peace between Alexander and their city; but theſe the Tyrians killed, contrary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of the walls into the ſea. Alexander, exaſperated at ſo cruel an outrage, formed a reſolution at once, and employed his whole attention in raiſing a dike. He found in the ruins of Old Tyre, which ſtood on the continent, and was called Palae-Tyros, materials to make piers, taking all the ſtones and rubbiſh from it. Mount Libanus, which was not far diſtant from it, ſo famous in ſcripture for its cedars, furniſhed him with wood for piles, and other timber work.

The ſoldiers began the pier with great alacrity, being animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, who himſelf gave out all the orders; and who *, knowing perfectly how to inſinuate himſelf into, and gain the affections of his troops, excited ſome by praiſes, and others by ſlight reprimands, intermixed with kind expreſſions, and ſoftened by promiſes. At firſt they advanced with pretty great ſpeed, the piles being eaſily drove into the ſlime, which ſerved as mortar for the ſtones; and as the place where theſe works were carrying on was at ſome diſtance from the city, they went on without interruption. But the farther they went from the ſhore, the greater difficulties they met with; becauſe the ſea was deeper, and the workmen were very much annoyed by the darts diſcharged from the top of the walls. The enemy, who were maſters of the ſea, coming forward in great boats, and razing every part of the dike, prevented the Macedonians from carrying it on with vigour. Then, adding inſults to their attacks, they cried aloud to Alexander's ſoldiers, "That it was a noble ſight to "ſee thoſe conquerors, whoſe names were ſo renowned all

*Haud quaqua m rudis tractandi militares animos. Q. Curt.

" the world over, carrying burdens on their backs like ſo " many beaſts." And they would afterwards aſk them, in a " contemptuous tone of voice, " Whether Alexander were " greater than Neptune; and if they pretended to prevail " over that god?"

But theſe taunts did but inflame the courage of the ſoldiers. At laſt the bank appeared above water, began to ſhew a level of a conſiderable breadth, and to approach the city. Then the beſieged, perceiving with terror the vaſtneſs of the work, which the ſea had till then kept from their ſight, came in their ſhip-boats in order to view the bank, which was not yet very firm. Theſe boats were full of ſlingers, bowmen, and others who hurled javelins, and even fire; and being ſpread to the right and left about the bank, they ſhot on all ſides upon the workmen, ſeveral of whom were wounded; it not being poſſible for them to ward off the blow, becauſe of the great eaſe and ſwiftneſs with which the boats moved backwards and forwards; ſo that they were obliged to leave the work to defend themſelves. It was therefore reſolved, that ſkins and ſails ſhould be ſpread to cover the workmen; and that two wooden towers ſhould be raiſed at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy.

On the other ſide, the Tyrians made a deſcent on the ſhore, out of the view of the camp, where they landed ſome ſoldiers, who cut to pieces thoſe that carried the ſtones; and on mount Libanus there alſo were ſome Arabian peaſants, who meeting the Macedonians ſtraggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took very near the ſame number. Theſe ſmall loſſes obliged Alexander to ſeparate his troops into different bodies.

The beſieged, in the mean time, employed every invention, every ſtratagem that could be found, to ruin the enemy's works. They took a tranſport veſſel, and, filling it with bruſhes and ſuch like dry materials, made a large incloſure near the prow, wherein they threw all theſe things, with ſulphur and pitch, and other combuſtible matters. In the middle of this incloſure they ſet up two maſts, to each of which

they fixed two ſail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and ſuch like unctuous ſubſtances. They afterwards loaded the hinder part of the veſſel with ſtones and ſand, in order to raiſe the prow; and taking advantage of a favourable wind, they towed it to ſea by the aſſiſtance of their gallies. As ſoon as they were come near the towers, they ſet fire to the veſſel in queſtion, and drew it towards the point or extremity of the bank. In the mean time, the ſailors who were in it, leaped into the ſea and ſwam away. Immediately the fire catched with great violence, the towers, and the reſt of the works which were at the head of the bank; and then the ſail-yards, being drove backwards and forwards, threw oil upon the fire, which very much increaſed the flame. But to prevent the Macedonians from extinguiſhing it, the Tyrians, who were in their gallies, were perpetually hurling at the towers firy darts and burning torches, inſomuch that there was no approaching them. Several Macedonians loſt their lives in a miſerable manner on the bank; being either ſhot through with arrows, or burned to death; whilſt others, throwing down their arms, leaped into the ſea. But as they were ſwimming away, the Tyrians, chooſing to take them alive rather than kill them, maimed their hands with clubs aud ſtones; and after diſabling them, carried them off. At the ſame time the beſieged, coming out of the city in little boats, beat down tho edges of the bank, tore up its ſtakes, and burned the reſt of the engines.

Alexander, though he ſaw moſt of his deſigns defeated, and his works demoliſhed, was not at all dejected upon that account. His ſoldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines with ſo prodigious a ſpeed, as quite aſtoniſhed the enemy. Alexander himſelf was preſent on all occaſions, and ſuperintended every part of the works. His preſence and great abilities advanced theſe ſtill more than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finiſhed, and brought almoſt to the wall of the city, when there aroſe on a ſudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with ſo

much fury againſt the bank, that the cement and other things that bound it, gave way; and the water, ruſhing through the ſtones, broke it in the middle. As ſoon as the great heap of ſtones which ſupported the earth was thrown down, the whole ſunk at once, as into an abyſs.

Any warrior but Alexander would that inſtant have quite laid aſide his enterpriſe; and indeed he himſelf debated whether he ſhould not raiſe the ſiege. But a ſuperior power, who had foretold and ſworn the ruin of Tyre, and whoſe orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the ſiege; and, diſpelling all his fear and anxiety, inſpired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breaſts of his whole army with the ſame ſentiments. For now the ſoldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raiſe a new mole, at which they worked inceſſantly.

Alexander was ſenſible, that it would not be poſſible for him either to complete the bank, or to take the city, as long as the Tyrians ſhould continue maſters at ſea. He therefore reſolved to aſſemble before Sidon his few remaining gallies. At the ſame time, the kings of Aradus † and Byblos, hearing that Alexander had conquered their cities, abandoned the Perſian fleet, joined him with theirs, and that of the Sidonians, which made in all eighty ſail. There arrived alſo, much about the ſame time, ten gallies from Rhodes, three from Solae and Mallos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty oars. A little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Perſian army had been defeated near the city of Iſſus, and that Alexander had poſſeſſed himſelf of Phoenicia, brought him a reinforcement of upwards of one hundred and twenty gallies.

The king, whilſt his ſoldiers were preparing the ſhips and engines, took ſome troops of horſe with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Antilibanus. The tender regard he had for an old gentleman, formerly his tutor, who was abſolutely reſolved to follow his pupil, expoſed Alexander to very great danger. This

† Cities of Phoenicia.

was Lyſimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his ſcholar, and called himſelf Phoenix *. When the king was got to the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horſe, and began to walk. His troops got a conſiderable way before him. It was already late; and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was very corpulent, and ſcarce able to walk, he by that means was ſeparated from his little army, accompanied only by a very few ſoldiers; and in this manner ſpent the whole night very near the enemy, who were ſo numerous that they might eaſily have overpowered him. However, his uſual good fortune and courage extricated him from this danger; ſo that, coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the ſtrong places either by force or capitulation, and returned the eleventh day to Sidon, where he found Alexander, ſon of Polemocrates, who had brought him a reinforcement of four thouſand Greeks from Peloponneſus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took ſome ſoldiers from among his guards, and theſe he embarked with him, in order to employ them in cloſe fight with the enemy; and then ſet ſail towards Tyre in battle array. He himſelf was at the point or extremity of the right wing, which extended itſelf towards the main ocean, being accompanied by the kings of Cyprus and Phoenicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at firſt determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of theſe forces, and ſaw the army advance, which made a great appearance, for Alexander had halted to wait the coming up of his left wing, they kept all their gallies in their harbours, to prevent the enemy from entering them. When the king ſaw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impoſſible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, becauſe of the great narrowneſs of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of gallies, whoſe prows were all turned towards the main ocean, he only ſunk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to an anchor with his whole fleet, pret-

* It is well known that Phoenix was governor to Achilles.

ty near the bank, along the ſhore, where his ſhips rode in ſafety.

Whilſt all theſe things were doing, the new bank was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the ſea whole trees, with all their branches on them; and laid great ſtones over theſe, on which they put other trees; and the latter they covered with clay, which ſerved inſtead of mortar. Afterwards heaping more trees and ſtones on theſe, the whole thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former ones, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of ſuch arrows as ſhould be ſhot from thoſe ſhips which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The beſieged, on the other ſide, exerted themſelves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to ſtop the progreſs of the work. But nothing was of ſo much ſervice to them as their divers, who, ſwimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank, and with hooks drew ſuch branches to them as projected beyond the work; and pulling forward with great ſtrength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one remora to the carrying on of the work; however, after many delays, the patience of the workmen ſurmounting every obſtacle, it was at laſt finiſhed in its utmoſt perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to ſhake the walls with battering rams, and hurl on the beſieged arrows, ſtones, and burning torches.

At the ſame time Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its ſtation before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phoenicia before the harbour on the other ſide of the bank facing Egypt, towards that part where his own tent was pitched; and enabled himſelf to attack the city on every ſide. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that ſide which lay towards the bank, they had erected towers on the wall, which was of a prodigious height, and of a proportionable breadth, the whole built with great ſtones cemented to-

gether with mortar. The acceſs to any other part was very near as difficult, the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great ſtones, to keep the Greeks from approaching it. The buſineſs then was, firſt to draw theſe away, which could not be done but with the utmoſt difficulty; becauſe, as the ſoldiers ſtood in ſhips, they could not keep very firm on their legs. Beſides, the Tyrians advanced with covered gallies, and cut the cables which held the ſhips at anchor; ſo that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, ſeveral veſſels of thirty rowers each, and to ſtation theſe croſs-wiſe, to ſecure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian gallies. But ſtill, divers came and cut them unperceived; ſo that they were at laſt forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew theſe ſtones with cable ropes; and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the ſea, where it was not poſſible for them to do any further miſchief. The foot of the wall being thus cleared, the veſſels had very eaſy acceſs to it. In this manner the Tyrians were inveſted on all ſides, and attacked at the ſame time both by ſea and land.

The Macedonians had joined two and two gallies, with four men chained to each oar, in ſuch a manner, that the prows were faſtened, and the ſterns ſo far diſtant one from the other, as was neceſſary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this, they threw from one ſtern to the other ſail yards, which were faſtened together by planks laid croſs-wiſe, in order for the ſoldiers ſo ſtand faſt on the ſpace. The gallies being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and ſhot, under covert, againſt thoſe who defended the walls; the prows ſerving them as ſo many parapets. The king cauſed them to advance about midnight, in order to ſurround the walls, and make a general aſſault. The Tyrians now gave themſelves for loſt; when on a ſudden the ſky was overſpread with ſuch thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom. The ſea riſes by inſenſible degrees; and the billows being ſwelled by the fury of the winds, riſe to a

dreadful ſtorm. The veſſels daſh one againſt the other with ſo much violence, that the cables, which before faſtened them together, are either looſened, or break to pieces; the planks ſplit, and, making a horrible craſh, carry off the ſoldiers with them; for the tempeſt was ſo furious, that it was not poſſible to manage or ſteer gallies thus faſtened together. The ſoldier was a hindrance to the ſailor, and the ſailor to the ſoldier; and, as happens on ſuch occaſions, thoſe obeyed whoſe buſineſs it was to command; fear and anxiety throwing all things into confuſion. But now the rowers exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, that they got the better of the ſea, and ſeemed to tear their ſhips out of the waves. At laſt they brought them near the ſhore, but the greateſt part in a ſhattered condition.

At the ſame time there arrived at Tyre thirty ambaſſadors from Carthage, who did not bring the leaſt ſuccours, though they had promiſed ſuch mighty things. Inſtead of this, they only made excuſes, declaring that it was with the greateſt grief the Carthaginians found themſelves abſolutely unable to aſſiſt the Tyrians in any manner; for that they themſelves were engaged in a war, not as † before, for empire, but to ſave their country. And indeed the Syracuſans were laying waſte all Africa at that time with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though fruſtrated in this manner of the great hopes they had conceived, were no ways dejected. They only took the wiſe precaution to ſend moſt of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themſelves might be in a condition to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, and bear more courageouſly the greateſt calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a ſecure aſylum, what they moſt valued in the world.

There was in the city a brazen ſtatue of Apollo, of an enormous ſize. This Coloſſus had formerly ſtood in the city of Gela in Sicily. [n] The Carthaginians having taken it about the year four hundred and twelve before Chriſt, had given it, by

[n] Diod. l. xiii. p. 226.

† See vol. I. in the hiſtory of Carthage.

way of preſent, to the city of Tyre, which they always conſidered as the mother of Carthage. The Tyrians had ſet it up in their city, and worſhip was paid to it. During the ſiege, on a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined hat Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they faſtened with a gold chain his ſtatue to Hercules's altar, to prevent the deity in queſtion from leaving them. For theſe people were ſilly enough to believe, that after his ſtatue was thus faſtened down, it would not be poſſible for him to make his eſcape; and that he would be prevented from doing ſo by Hercules, the tutelar god of the city. What a ſtrange idea the heathens had of their divinities!

Some of the Tyrians propoſed the reſtoring of a ſacrifice which had been diſcontinued for many ages; and this was, to ſacrifice a child born of free parents to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this ſacrilegious cuſtom from their founders, preſerved it till the deſtruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were inveſted with the greateſt authoaity in Tyre, oppoſed this cruelly ſuperſtitious cuſtom, a child would have been butchered on this occaſion.

The Tyrians, finding their city expoſed every moment to be taken by ſtorm, reſolved to fall upon the Cyprian fleet, which lay at anchor off Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the ſeamen of Alexander's fleet were diſperſed up and down; and that he himſelf was withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the ſea ſhore. Accordingly, they came out, about noon, with thirteen gallies, all manned with choice ſoldiers, who were uſed to ſea fights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's veſſels. Part of them they found empty, and the reſt had been manned in great haſte. Some of theſe they ſunk, and drove ſeveral of them againſt the ſhores, where they daſhed to pieces. The loſs would have been ſtill greater, had not Alexander, the inſtant he heard of this ſally, advanced at the head of his whole fleet with all imaginable diſpatch againſt the Tyrians. However, theſe did not wait their coming up; but withdrew into the harbour, after having alſo loſt ſome of their ſhips.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all ſides, and as vigorouſly defended. The beſieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme neceſſity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themſelves, and repulſe the enemy. They warded off all the darts diſcharged from the baliſtas againſt them by the aſſiſtance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the ſtones that were hurled at them, by ſetting up a kind of ſails and curtains made of a ſoft ſubſtance, which eaſily gave way. To annoy the ſhips which advanced againſt their walls, they fixed grappling irons and ſcythes to joiſts or beams; then, ſtraining their catapultas, an enormous kind of croſs bows, they laid thoſe great pices of timber upon them inſtead of arrows, and ſhot them off on a ſudden at the enemy. Theſe cruſhed ſome to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks or penſile ſcythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did conſiderable damage to their ſhips. They alſo made brazen ſhields, which they drew red hot out of the fire; and, filling theſe with burning ſand, hurled them in an inſtant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians ſo much dreaded as this laſt invention; for the moment this burning ſand got to the fleſh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and ſtuck ſo cloſe, that there was no pulling it off; ſo that the ſoldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner expoſed, naked and defenceleſs, to the ſhot of the enemy.

It was then Alexander, diſcouraged at ſo vigorous a defence, debated ſeriouſly, whether it would not be proper for him to raiſe the ſiege, and go for Egypt: For, after having overrun Aſia with prodigious rapidity, he found his progreſs unhappily retarded; and loſt, before a ſingle city, the opportunity of executing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other ſide, he conſidered that it would be a great blemiſh to his reputation, which had done him greater ſervice than his arms, ſhould he leave Tyre behind him, and

thereby prove to the world, that he was not invincible. He therefore reſolved to make a laſt effort with a great number of ſhips, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a ſecond naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king purſued their rear very cloſe, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulſed by arrows ſhot from the walls: However, he either took or ſunk a great number of their ſhips.

Alexander, after letting his forces repoſe themſelves two days, advanced his fleet and his engines, in order to attempt a general aſſault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increaſed with the danger; and each ſide, animated by the moſt powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, inſtantly the Argyraſpides mounted the breach with the utmoſt valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the braveſt officers in the army, who was killed by the thruſt of a partiſan *, as he was encouraging his ſoldiers. The preſence of the king, and eſpecially the example he ſet, fired his troops with unuſual bravery. He himſelf aſcended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was expoſed to the greateſt danger his courage had ever made him hazard; for, being immediately known by his inſignia and the richneſs of his armour, he ſerved as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occaſion he performed wonders; killing, with javelins, ſeveral of thoſe who defended the wall; then, advancing nearer to them, he forced ſome with his ſword, and others with his ſhield, either into the city or the ſea; the tower where he fought almoſt touching the wall. He ſoon went over it, by the aſſiſtance of floating bridges, and followed by the nobility, poſſeſſed himſelf of two towers, and the ſpace between them. The battering rams had already made ſeveral breaches; the fleet had forced into the harbour; and ſome of the Macedonians had poſſeſſed themſelves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, ſeeing the enemy maſter of their

* A kind of halbert.

rampart, retired towards an open place, called Agenor, and their ſtood their ground; but Alexander, marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the reſt to fly. At the ſame time, Tyre being taken on that ſide which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, ſparing no perſon who came in their way, being highly exaſperated at the long reſiſtance of the beſieged, and the barbarities they had exerciſed towards ſome of their comrades who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the ſight of the whole army.

The Tyrians, ſeeing themſelves overpowered on all ſides, ſome fly to the temple, to implore the aſſiſtance of the gods; others, ſhutting themſelves in their houſes, eſcape the ſword of the conqueror by a voluntary death; in fine, others ruſh upon the enemy, firmly reſolved to ſell their lives at the deareſt rate. Moſt of the citizens were got on the houſe tops, whence they threw ſtones, and whatever came firſt to hand, upon ſuch as advanced forward into the city. The king gave orders for killing all the inhabitants, thoſe excepted who had ſheltered themſelves in the temples, and to ſet fire to every part of Tyre. Although this order was publiſhed by ſound of trumpet, yet not one perſon who carried arms flew to the aſylums. The temples were filled with ſuch old men and children only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their houſes, in expectation every inſtant of being ſacrificed to the rage of the ſoldiers. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian ſoldiers, who were in Alexander's camp, ſaved great numbers of them. For, having entered the city indiſcriminately with the conquerors, and calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians, Agenor having founded both Tyre and Sidon, they, for that reaſon, carried off great numbers privately on board their ſhips, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind deceit, fifteen thouſand were ſaved from the rage of the conqueror; and we may judge of the greatneſs of the ſlaughter, from the number of the ſoldiers who were cut to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who a-

mounted to ſix thouſand. However, the king's anger not being fully appeaſed, he exhibited a ſcene, which appeared dreadful even to the conquerors; for two thouſand men remaining after the ſoldiers had been glutted with ſlaughter, Alexander cauſed them to be fixed upon croſſes along the ſea ſhore. He pardoned the ambaſſadors of Carthage, who were come to their metropolis to offer up a ſacrifice to Hercules, according to annual cuſtom. The number of priſoners, both foreigners and citizens, amounted to thirty thouſand, who were all ſold. As for the Macedonians, their loſs was very inconſiderable.

° Alexander himſelf ſacrificed to Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all his land forces under arms in concert with the fleet. He alſo ſolemnized gymnaſtic exerciſes in honour of the ſame god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the ſtatute of Apollo above mentioned, he took off the chains from it, reſtored to it its former liberty, and commanded that this god ſhould thenceforwards be ſurnamed Philaxander, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we may believe Timæus, the Greeks began to pay him this ſolemn worſhip for having occaſioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the day and hour that the Carthaginians had carried off this ſtatue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken about the end of September, after having ſuſtained a ſeven months ſiege.

Thus were accompliſhed the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets againſt the city of Tyre. * Nabuchodonoſor had begun to execute thoſe threats, by beſieging and taking it; and they were completed by the ſad cataſtrophe we have here deſcribed. As this double event forms one of the moſt conſiderable paſſages in hiſtory, and that the ſcriptures have given us ſeveral very remarkable circumſtances of it, I ſhall endeavour to unite here, in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of Tyre, its power, riches, haughtineſs, and irreligion; the different puniſhments with which God chaſtiſed its pride and other vices; in fine, its laſt re-eſtabliſhment, but in a manner entirely different from that of others. Methinks, I revive on a ſudden, when, through the multitude of

° A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

* Or Nebuchadnezzar, as he is called in our verſion.

profane hiſtories which heathen antiquity furniſhes, and in every part whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to ſay more, of the Almighty, the ſacred ſcriptures exhibit themſelves, and unfold to me the ſecret deſigns of God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me what idea we are to form of thoſe things which appear the moſt worthy of eſteem, the moſt auguſt in the eyes of men.

But before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre, I ſhall here preſent the reader with a little extract of the hiſtory of that famous city, by which he will be the better enabled to underſtand the prophecies.

[p] Tyre was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Jeruſalem: For this reaſon it is called by Iſaiah, the Daughter of Sidon. It ſoon ſurpaſſed its mother city in extent, power, and riches.

[q] It was beſieged by Salmanaſar, and alone reſiſted the united fleets of the Aſſyrains and Phoenicians; a circumſtance which greatly heightened its pride.

[r] Nabuchodonoſor laid ſiege to Tyre, at the time that Ithobalus was king of that city; but did not take it till thirteen years after. But before it was conquered, the inhabitants had retired, with moſt of their effects, into a neighbouring iſland, where they built a new city. The old one was razed to the very foundations, and has ſince been no more than a village, known by the name of Palae Tyrus, or Ancient Tyre: But the new one roſe to greater power than ever.

It was in this great and flouriſhing condition, when Alexander beſieged and took it. And here begins the ſeventy years of obſcurity and oblivion, in which it was to lie, according to Iſaiah. It was indeed ſoon repaired; becauſe the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, ſaved fifteen thouſand of their citizens, as was before obſerved, who, after their return, applied themſelves to traffic, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application; beſides which, the women and children, who had been ſent to Car-

[p] A. M. 2992. Ant. J. C. 1712. Joſeph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 3.
[q] A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719. Ibid. ix. c. 14.
[r] A. M. 3432. Ant, J. C. 572. Ibid, l. x. c. 11.

thage, and lodged in a place of ſafety, returned to it at the ſame time. But Tyre was confined to the iſland in which it ſtood. Its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had loſt the empire of the ſea. And when, eighteen years after, Antigonus beſieged it with a ſtrong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppoſe him. This ſecond ſiege, which reduced it a ſecond time to captivity, plunged it into the ſtate of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itſelf; and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Iſaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered its former credit; and, at the ſame time, reſumed its former vices; till at laſt, converted by the preaching of the goſpel, it became a holy and religious city. The ſacred writings acquaint us with part of theſe revolutions; and this is what we are now to ſhew.

[s] Tyre, before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was conſidered as one of the moſt ancient and flouriſhing cities of the world. Its induſtry and very advantageous ſituation, had raiſed it to the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and made it the centre of all the trade in the univerſe. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Perſia, and India, to the moſt remote weſtern coaſts; from Scythia, and the northern countries, to Egypt, Ethiopia, and the ſouthern countries, all nations contributed to the increaſe of its riches, ſplendor and power. Not only the ſeveral things uſeful and neceſſary to ſociety, which thoſe various regions produced; but whatever they had of a rare, curious, magnificent or precious kind, and beſt adapted to the ſupport of luxury and pride; all theſe, I ſay, were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other ſide, as from a common ſource, diſperſed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inſpiring mankind with a love for eaſe, vanity, luxury, and voluptuouſneſs.

[t] A long, uninterrupted ſeries of proſperities had ſwelled

[s] Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii. throughout. Ezek. xxvii. 4—25.
[t] Ezek. xxvi. 17. xxvii. 3, 4, 25—34, 33.

the pride of Tyre. She delighted to conſider herſelf as the queen of cities; a queen whoſe head is adorned with a diadem; whoſe correſpondents are illuſtrious princes; whoſe rich traders diſpute for ſuperiority with kings; who ſees every maritime power, either as her allies or dependants; and who made herſelf neceſſary or formidable to all nations.

Tyre had now filled up the meaſure of her iniquity, by her impiety againſt God, and her barbarity exerciſed againſt his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jeruſalem, in the inſulting words following. "[u] Behold then the gates of this "ſo populous city are broken down. Her inhabitants ſhall "come to me, and I will enrich myſelf with her ſpoils, now "ſhe is laid waſte." [x] She was not ſatisfied with having reduced the Jews to a ſtate of captivity, notwithſtanding the alliance between them; with ſelling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their moſt cruel enemies: [y] She likewiſe had ſeized upon the inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his temple the moſt precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.

[z] This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre. God is reſolved to deſtroy her, becauſe ſhe relied ſo much upon her own ſtrength, her wiſdom, her riches and her alliances. He therefore brought againſt her Nabuchodonoſer, that king of kings, to overflow her with his mighty hoſts, as with waters that overſpread their banks, in order to demoliſh her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to deliver up her merchandizes and treaſures to the ſoldier, and to raze Tyre to the very foundations, after having ſet fire to it, and either extirpated or diſperſed all its inhabitants.

[a] By this ſo unexpected a fall, the Almighty will teach the aſtoniſhed nations, that he more evidently diſplays his providence by the moſt incredible revolutions of ſtates; and that his will only directs the enterpriſes of men, and guides them as he pleaſes, in order to humble the proud.

[u] Ezek. xxvii. 2.
[x] Joel iii. 2—8. Amos i. 9, 10.
[y] Joel iii. 2, 4, 7. Amos i. 9, 10.
[z] Jerem. xlvii. 2, 6. Ezek. xxvi. 3—12, and 19. xxvii. 27. 34.
[a] Ezek. xxvi. 15, 18. and xxvii. 33, 36. Iſa. xxiii. 8, 9.

But Tyre, after ſhe had recovered her loſſes, and repaired her ruins, forgot her former ſtate of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it. [b] She ſtill was puffed up with the glory of poſſeſſing the empire of the ſea; of being the ſeat of univerſal commerce; of giving birth to the moſt famous colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whoſe credit, riches, and ſplendor, equalled them to the princes and great men of the earth; [c] of being governed by a monarch, who might juſtly be entitled god of the ſea; of tracing back her origin to the moſt remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long ſeries of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promiſe herſelf another ſuch eternity in times to come.

[d] But ſince this city, corrupted by pride, by avarice, and luxury, has not profited by the firſt leſſon which God had given her, in the perſon of the king of Babylon: and that, after being oppreſſed by all the forces of the Eaſt, ſhe ſtill would not learn to confide no longer in the falſe and imaginary ſupports of her own greatneſs; [e] God foretels her another chaſtiſement, which he will ſend upon her from the weſt, near four hundred years after the firſt. [f] Her deſtruction will come from Chittim, that is Macedonia; from a kingdom ſo weak and obſcure, that it had been deſpiſed a few years before; a kingdom whence ſhe could never have expected ſuch a blow. "Tyre, poſſeſſed with an opinion of her own wiſdom, and "proud of her fleets, of her immenſe riches, which ſhe heaped up as mire in the ſtreets," and alſo protected by the whole power of the Perſian empire, does not imagine ſhe has any thing to fear from thoſe new enemies, who being ſituated at a great diſtance from her, without either money ſtrength, or reputation; having neither harbours nor ſhips, and being quite unſkilled in navigation; cannot therefore, as ſhe imagines, annoy her with their land forces. [g] Tyre looks upon herſelf as impregnable, becauſe ſhe is defended by lofty fortifications, and ſurrounded on all ſides by the ſea as with a moat and a girdle: Nevertheleſs Alexander, by filling up the

b Iſa. xxiii. 3, 4, 7, 8, 12.
c Ezek. xxviii. 2.
d Iſa. xxiii. 13.
e Ibid. xxiii. 11, 12, 13.
1 Maccab. i. 1 Zech. ix. 2, 5.
f Iſa. xxiii. 10, 11, 13.

rm of the ſea which ſeparates her from the continent, will force off her girdle, and demoliſh thoſe ramparts which ſerved her as a ſecond incloſure.

Tyre, thus diſpoſſeſſed of her dignity as queen and as a free city, boaſting no more her diadem nor her girdle, will be reduced during ſeventy years, to the mean condition of a ſlave. "[h] The Lord purpoſed it, to ſtain the pride of all glory, "and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth." [i] Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general, and ſhe will prove to all cities a ſubject of ſorrow and groans, by making them loſe the preſent means and the future hopes of enriching themſelves.

[k] To prove, in a ſenſible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin, is not incredible, and that all the ſtrength and wiſdom of man can nowiſe ward off or ſuſpend the puniſhment which God has prepared for the pride and the abuſe of riches, Iſaiah ſets before her the example of Babylon, whoſe deſtruction ought to have been an example to her. * This city, in which Nimrod laid the foundations of his empire, was the moſt ancient, the moſt populous, and embelliſhed with more edifices, both public and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the firſt empire that ever exiſted, and was founded, in order to command over the whole earth, which ſeemed to be inhabited only by families, which ſhe had brought forth and ſent out as ſo many colonies, whoſe common parent ſhe was. Nevertheleſs, ſays the prophet, ſhe is no mere, neither Babylon nor her empire. The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the beſieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raiſed pompous palaces, to make their names immortal; but all theſe fortifications were but as ſo many dens, in the eyes of Providence, for wild beaſts to dwell in; and theſe edifices were doomed to fall to duſt, or elſe to ſink to humble cottages.

[h] Iſa. xxiii. 9. [i] Ibid. 1, 11, 14. [k] Ibid. 13, 14.

* Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Aſſyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderneſs: They ſet up the towers thereof, they raiſed up the palaces thereof, and he brought it to ruin. Howl, ye ſhips of Tarſhiſh; for your ſtrength is laid waſte. Iſa. xxiii. 13, 14.

After ſo ſignal an example, continues the prophet, ſhall Tyre, which is ſo much inferior to Babylon in many reſpects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by heaven againſt her, viz. to deprive her of the empire of the ſea, and deſtroy her fleets, will not be fulfilled!

[l] To make her the more ſtrongly ſenſible how much ſhe has abuſed her proſperity, God will reduce her to a ſtate of humiliation and oblivion during three ſcore and ten years. [m] But after this ſeaſon of obſcurity, ſhe will again endeavour to appear with the air of an harlot, whoſe charms and artifices ſhe ſhall aſſume; ſhe will employ her utmoſt endeavours to corrupt youth, and ſoothe their paſſions. To promote her commerce, ſhe will uſe fraud, deceit, and the moſt inſidious arts. She will viſit every part of the world, to collect the moſt rare and moſt delicious products of every country; to inſpire the various nations of the univerſe with a love and admiration for ſuperfluities and ſplendor; and fill them with an averſion for the ſimplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And ſhe will ſet every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties; to recover the confidence of her former correſpondents; and to compenſate, by a ſpeedy abundance, the ſterility of ſeventy years.

[n] Thus, in proportion as the Almighty ſhall give Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, ſhe ſhall return to her former ſhameful traffic, which God had ruined, by ſtripping her of the great poſſeſſions ſhe had applied to ſuch pernicious uſes.

[o] But at laſt, Tyre, converted by the goſpel, ſhall no more be a ſcandal and a ſtumbling-block to nations. She ſhall no longer ſacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth, but to the worſhip of the Lord, and the comfort of thoſe that ſerve him. She ſhall no longer render her riches barren and uſeleſs by detaining them, but ſhall ſcatter them, like fruitful ſeed, from the hands of believers and miniſters of the goſpel.

One of God's deſigns, in the prophecies juſt now cited, is to give us a juſt idea of a traffic, whoſe only motive is avarice

[l] Iſa. xxiii. 15 [m] Ibid. 16. [n] Ibid. 17. [o] Ibid.

and whoſe fruits are pleaſures, vanity, and immorality. Mankind look upon cities enriched with a commerce like that of Tyre, and it is the ſame with private perſons, as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit, from their induſtry, labour, and the ſucceſs of their applications and conduct, to be propoſed as patterns for the reſt to copy after: But God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the ſhameful image of a woman loſt to all ſenſe of virtue; as a woman, whoſe only view is to ſeduce and corrupt youth; who only ſoothes the paſſions and flatters the ſenſes; who abhors modeſty and every ſentiment of honour; and who, baniſhing from her countenance every characteriſtic of chaſtity, glories in ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that traffic is ſinful in itſelf; but we ſhould ſeparate from the eſſential foundation of trade, which is juſt and lawful when rightly uſed, the paſſions of men which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and end of it. Tyre, converted to Chriſtianity, teaches merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffic, and the uſes to which they ought to apply their profits.

SECTION VII.

ALEXANDER's JOURNEY to JERUSALEM. He ſubdues EGYPT. Is declared SON of JUPITER.

WHILST Alexander was carrying on the ſiege of Tyre[p], he had received a ſecond letter from Darius, who at laſt gave him the title of king. "He offered him ten thouſand talents, thirty "millions as a ranſom for the captive princeſſes, and his daugh- "ter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquer- "ed as far as the Euphrates. Darius hinted to him the incon- "ſtancy of fortune; and deſcribed, in the moſt pompous "terms, the numberleſs troops who were ſtill under his com- "mand. Could he, Alexander, think, that it was ſo very "eaſy to croſs the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the "Hydaſpes, which were as ſo many bulwarks to the Perſian "empire? That he ſhould not be always ſhut up between "rocks ond paſſes: That they ought both to appear in a plain,

[p] Plut. in Alex. p. 681. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 5. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101.

" and that then Alexander would be aſhamed to come before " him with only a handful of men." The king hereupon ſummoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of thoſe offers, declaring he himſelf would agree to them, were he Alexander. " And ſo would I," replied Alexander, " were I Parmenio." He therefore returned the following anſwer; " That he did not want the money " Darius offered him: That it did not become Darius to of- " fer a thing he no longer poſſeſſed, or to pretend to diſtri- " bute what he had entirely loſt. That in caſe he was the " only perſon who did not know which of them was ſuperior, " a battle would ſoon determine it. That he ſhould not think " to intimidate with rivers, a man who had croſſed ſo many " ſeas. That to whatſoever place he might find it proper to " retire, Alexander would not fail to find him out." Darius, upon receiving this anſwer, loſt all hopes of an accommodation, and prepared again for war.

[q] From Tyre Alexander marched to Jeruſalem, firmly reſolved to ſhew it no more favour than he had done the former city; and for this reaſon: The Tyrians were ſo much employed in traffic, that they quite neglected huſbandry, and brought moſt of their corn and other proviſions from the countries in their neighbourhood. [r] Galilea, Samaria, and Judea, furniſhed them with the greateſt quantities. At the ſame time that Alexander laid ſiege to their city, he himſelf was obliged to ſend for proviſions from thoſe countries: He therefore ſent commiſſaries to ſummon the inhabitants to ſubmit, and furniſh his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however, deſired to be excuſed, alleging that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius; and perſiſted in anſwering, that they would never acknowledge any other ſovereign as long as he was living: A rare example of fidelity, and worthy of the only people who in that age acknowledged the true God! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in this particular; for they ſubmitted with cheerfulneſs to Alexander, and even ſent him eight thouſand men, to ſerve at the ſiege of Tyre and

[q] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8. [r] Acts xii. 20.

in other places. For the better underſtanding of what follows, it may be neceſſary for us to preſent the reader, in few words, with the ſtate of the Samaritans at that time, and the cauſe of the ſtrong antipathy between them and the Jews.

I obſerved * elſewhere, that the Samaritans did not deſcend from the Iſraelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other ſide of the Euphrates, whom Aſaraddon, king of the Aſſyrians, had ſent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. Theſe people, who were called Cuthaei, blended the worſhip of the God of Iſrael with that of their idols; and on all occaſions diſcovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much ſtronger after the return of the Jews from the Babyloniſh captivity, before and after the reſtoration of the temple.

Notwithſtanding the reformation which the holy man Nehemiah had wrought in Jeruſalem, with regard to the marrying of ſtrange or foreign woman, the evil had ſpread ſo far, that the high-prieſt's houſe, which ought to have been preſerved more than any other from theſe criminal mixtures, was itſelf polluted with them. [s] One of the ſons of Jehoida the high-prieſt, whom Joſephus calls Manaſſes, had married the daughter of Sannaballat the Horonite; and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God which was ſo ſhamefully violated, commanded, without exception, all who had married ſtrange women, either to put them away immediately, or depart the country. [t] Manaſſes choſe to go into baniſhment rather than ſeparate himſelf from his wife, and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, whither he was followed by great numbers as rebellious as himſelf; he there ſettled them under the protection of Sanaballat, his father-in-law, who was governor of that country.

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus, whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Perſia had forced into Phoenicia, leave to build on mount Garizim, near Samaria, a temple like that of Jeruſalem, and to appoint Manaſſes, his ſon-in-law, prieſt thereof. From that time, Samaria

[s] 2 Eſd. xiii. 28. [t] Joſeph. Antiq.

* Vol. II. of the Aſſyrians.

became the asylum of all the malcontents of Judea. And it was this raised the hatred of the Jews against the Samaritans to its greatest height, when they saw that the latter, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the law, which fixed the solemn worship of the God of Israel in the city of Jerusalem, had nevertheless raised altar against altar, and temple against temple; and refuged all who fled from Jerusalem, to screen themselves from the punishment which would have been inflicted on them for violating the law.

Such was the state of Judea, when Alexander laid siege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before observed, had sent him a considerable body of troops; whereas the Jews thought they could not submit to him, as long as Darius, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance, should be alive.

Alexander, being little used to such an answer, particularly after he had obtained so many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, resolved, the instant he had conquered Tyre, to march against the Jews, and punish their disobedience as rigorously as he had done that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus, the high-priest, who governed under the Persians, seeing himself exposed, with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourse to the protection of the Almighty, gave orders for the offering up public prayers to implore his assistance, and made sacrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and bid him "to cause flowers to be scattered up and down "the city; to set open all the gates, and go, clothed in his "pontifical robes, with all the priests dressed also in their "vestments, and all the rest clothed in white, to meet Alex-"ander, and not to fear any evil from that king, inasmuch as "he would protect them." This command was punctually obeyed; and accordingly this august procession, the very day after, marched out of the city to an eminence called Sapha *, whence there was a view of all the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jerusalem. Here the whole procession waited the arrival of Alexander.

* The Hebrew word Sapha, signifies to discover from far, as from a tower or sentry-box.

The Syrians and Phoenicians, who were in his army, were perſuaded that the wrath of this prince was ſo great, that he would certainly puniſh the high-prieſt after an exemplary manner, and deſtroy that city in the ſame manner as he had done Tyre; and, flufhed with joy upon that account, they waited in expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities of a people to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As ſoon as the Jews heard of the king's approach, they ſet out to meet him with all the pomp before deſcribed. Alexander was ſtruck at the ſight of the high-prieſt, in whoſe mitre and forehead a golden plate was fixed, on which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-prieſt, he advanced towards him with an air of the moſt profound reſpect; bowed his body, adored the auguſt name upon his front, and ſaluted him who wore it with a religious veneration. Then the Jews, ſurrounding Alexander, raiſed their voices to wiſh him every kind of proſperity. All the ſpectators were ſeized with inexpreſſible ſurpriſe; they could ſcarce believe their eyes; and did not know how to account for a ſight ſo contrary to their expectation, and ſo vaſtly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his aſtoniſhment, aſked the king how it came to paſs that he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-prieſt of the Jews. "I "do not," replied Alexander, "adore the high-prieſt, but "the God whoſe miniſter he is; for whilſt I was at Dia in "Macedonia (my mind wholly fixed on the great deſign of "the Perſian war) as I was revolving the methods how to "conquer Aſia, this very man, dreſſed in the ſame robes, ap-"peared to me in a dream, exhorted me to baniſh every fear, "bid me croſs the Helleſpont boldly, and aſſured me that "God would march at the head of my army, and give me "the victory over that of the Perſians." Alexander added, that the inſtant he ſaw this prieſt, he knew him by his habit, his ſtature, his air, and his face, to be the ſame perſon whom he had ſeen at Dia; that he was firmly perſuaded it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of heaven, that he had undertaken this war; that he was ſure he ſhould

overcome Darius hereafter, and deſtroy the empire of the Perſians; and that this was the reaſon why he adored this God in the perſon of his prieſt. Alexander, after having thus anſwered Parmenio, embraced the high-prieſt and all his brethren; then walking in the midſt of them, he arrived at Jeruſalem, where he offered ſacrifices to God, in the temple, after the manner preſcribed to him by the high-prieſt.

The high-prieſt afterwards ſhewed him thoſe paſſages in the prophecy of Daniel, which are ſpoken of that monarch. I ſhall here give an extract of them, to ſhew how conſpicuouſly the moſt diſtant events are preſent to the Creator.

[u] God manifeſts, by the prophecy of Daniel, that grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he beſtows them on whomſoever he pleaſes, and withdraws them, in like manner, to puniſh the abuſe of them; that his wiſdom and power ſolely determine the courſe of events in all ages; [x] that he changes, by the mere effect of his will, the whole face of human affairs; that he ſets up new kingdoms, overthrows the ancient ones, and effaces them, even to the very footſteps of them, with the ſame eaſe as the wind carries off the ſmalleſt chaff from the threſhing-floor.

[y] God's deſign in ſubjecting ſtates to ſuch aſtoniſhing revolutions, is to teach men, that they are in his preſence as nothing; that he alone is the moſt high, the eternal king, the ſovereign arbiter; who acts as he pleaſes, with ſupreme power, both in heaven and in earth. [z] For the putting this deſign in execution, the prophet ſees an auguſt council, in which the angels being appointed as ſpectators and overſeers of governments and kings, inquire into the uſe which theſe make of the authority that heaven intruſted them with, in quality of his miniſters; and when they abuſe it, theſe * ſpirits, zealous for the glory of their ſovereign, beſeech God to puniſh their injuſtice and ingratitude; and to humble their pride, by caſting them from the throne, and reducing them to the moſt abject among mankind.

[u] Dan. ii. 20, 21, 37. [x] Ibid. 35. [y] Dan. iv. 32, 34, 35, 36. [z] Ibid. 14.

* It was at the deſire of theſe angels that Nebuchodonoſor was driven from the ſociety of men to herd with wild beaſts.

[a] God, to make theſe important truths ſtill more ſenſible, ſhews Daniel four dreadful beaſts who riſe from the vaſt ſea, in which the four winds combat together with fury; and, under theſe ſymbols, he repreſents to the prophet the origin, the characteriſtics, and fall of the four great empires, which are to govern the whole world ſucceſſively. A dreadful, but too real image! For empires riſe out of noiſe and confuſion; they ſubſiſt in blood and ſlaughter; they exerciſe their power with violence and cruelty; they think it glorious to carry terror and deſolation into all places; but yet, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, they are ſubject to continual viciſſitudes, and unforeſeen deſtruction.

[b] The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of theſe empires. After having repreſented the empire of the Babylonians under the image of a lioneſs, and that of the Medes and Perſians under the form of a bear greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by preſenting us with ſuch of its characteriſtics as it is more immediately known by. Under the image of a ſpotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, he ſhadows Alexander, intermixed with good and bad qualities; raſh and impetuous in his reſolutions, rapid in his conqueſts, flying with the ſwiftneſs of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army laden with the whole equipage of war; ſupported by the valour and capacity of his generals, four of whom, after having aſſiſted him in conquering his empire, divide it among themſelves.

[c] To this picture the prophet adds elſewhere new touches. He enumerates the order of the ſucceſſion of the kings of Perſia; he declares, in preciſe terms, that after the three firſt kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyſes, and Darius, a fourth monarch will ariſe, who is Xerxes: and that he will exceed all his predeceſſors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed with the idea of his own grandeur, which ſhall have roſe to its higheſt pitch, will aſſemble all the people in his boundleſs dominions, and lead them to the conqueſt of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude,

[a] Dan. vii. 2, 3. [b] Ibid. vii. 4, 5, 6. [c] Ibid. xi. 2.

and does not tell us what ſucceſs they met with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to underſtand, that Xerxes, a ſoft, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the leaſt ſucceſs in any of his projects.

[d] On the contrary, from among the Greeks in queſtion, attacked unſucceſsfully by the Perſians, there will ariſe a king of a genius and turn of mind quite different from that of Xerxes; and this is Alexander the Great. He ſhall be a bold, valiant monarch; he ſhall ſucceed in all his enterpriſes; he ſhall extend his dominions far and wide, and ſhall eſtabliſh an irreſiſtible power on the ruins of the vanquiſhed nations: But at a time when he ſhall imagine himſelf to be moſt firmly ſeated on the throne, he ſhall loſe his life with the regal dignity, and not leave any poſterity to ſucceed him in it. This new monarchy, loſing on a ſudden the ſplendor and power for which it was ſo renowned under Alexander, ſhall divide itſelf towards the four winds of heaven. From its ruins there ſhall ariſe not only four great kingdoms, Egypt, Syria, Aſia Minor, and Macedon, but alſo ſeveral other foreigners or Barbarians ſhall uſurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of theſe.

[e] In fine, in the eighth chapter, the prophet completes the deſcription in ſtill ſtronger colours, the character, the battles, the ſeries of ſucceſſes, the riſe and fall of theſe two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the firſt of theſe empires ſhall be compoſed of Perſians and Medes; that its ſtrength ſhall conſiſt in the union of theſe two nations; that the Perſians ſhall nevertheleſs exceed the Medes in authority; that they ſhall have a ſeries of conqueſts, without meeting with any oppoſition; that they ſhall firſt extend them towards the weſt, by ſubduing the Lydians, the provinces of Aſia Minor, and Thrace; that they ſhall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to ſubdue part of Scythia, and the nations bordering on the Caſpian Sea; in fine, that they ſhall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the ſouth, by ſubjecting Egypt and Arabia; but that they ſhall not invade the nations of the eaſt.

[d] Dan. xi. 3, 4. [e] Ibid. viii.

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the ſymbol of a he-goat of prodigious ſize; he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the weſt, in order to invade the empire of the Perſians; that it will be headed by a warrior famous for his power and glory; that it will take immenſe marches in queſt of the enemy, even into the very heart of his dominions; that it ſhall advance towards this enemy with ſuch rapidity, that it will ſeem only to ſkim the ground; that it will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely ſubvert it by repeated victories, and deſtroy the double power of the Perſians and Medes; during which not one monarch, whether its ally or neighbour, ſhall give it the leaſt ſuccour.

But as ſoon as this monarchy ſhall have roſe to its greateſt height, Alexander, who formed its greateſt ſtrength, ſhall be ſnatched from it; and then there will ariſe, towards the four parts of the world, four Grecian monarchies, which, though vaſtly inferior to that of Alexander, will, however, be very conſiderable.

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a ſeries of prophecies, all of them ſo clear, ſo exact, and ſo circumſtantial; prophecies, which go ſo far as to point out that a prince ſhould die without leaving a ſingle ſucceſſor from among his own family, and that four of his generals will divide his empire between them? But we muſt peruſe theſe prophecies in the ſcriptures themſelves. The Vulgate agrees, a few places excepted, pretty nearly with the Hebrew, which I ſhall tranſlate * agreeable to the original text.

"[f] In the third year of the reign of king Belſhazzar, a "viſion appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that "which appeared unto me at the firſt. And I ſaw in a viſion, "and it came to paſs when I ſaw, that I was at Shuſhan in the "palace, which is in the province of Elam, and I ſaw in a "viſion, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up

[f] Dan. viii. 1—3.

* We have not followed Mr. Rollin's tranſlation here, believing it more proper to make uſe of our own verſion of the Bible.

" mine eyes, and saw, and behold there stood before the river
" a RAM, which had two horns, and the two horns were high:
" But one was higher than the other, and the higher came up
" last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and
" southward: So that no beasts might stand before him, nei-
" ther was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but
" he did according to his will, and became great. And as I
" was considering, behold, an he-got came from the west, on
" the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground;
" and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And
" he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen
" standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of
" his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and
" he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram,
" and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram
" to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground,
" and stamped upon him: And there was none that could
" deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat
" waxed very great; and when he was strong, the great horn
" was broken; and from it came out four notable ones towards
" the four winds of heaven."

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the prophecies I have now repeated: But these I shall leave to the reader's understanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which however I shall not expatiate so much as the subject might deserve.

The Almighty presides in general over all events which happen in the world; and rules, with absolute sway, the fate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but then he conceals the operations of his wisdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural causes and ordinary events. All that profane history exhibits to us, whether sieges, or the conquests of cities; battles won or lost; empires established or overthrown; in all these, I say, there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God seems to have no concern in these things, and we should be tempted to believe that he abandons men entirely to their views, their talents, and

their paſſions; if we, perhaps, except the Jewiſh nation, whom he conſidered as his own peculiar people.

To prevent our falling into a temptation ſo repugnant to religion and even reaſon itſelf, God breaks at every interval his ſilence, and diſperſes the clouds which hide him, and condeſcends to diſcover to us the ſecret ſprings of his providence, by cauſing his prophets to foretel, a long ſeries of years before the event, the fate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel the order, the ſucceſſion, and the different characteriſtics of the four great empires, to which he is determined to ſubject all the nations of the univerſe, viz. that of the Babylonians, of the Perſians and Medes, of the Greeks; and, laſtly, that of the Romans.

It is in the ſame view that he inſiſts, very ſtrongly, on the two moſt famous conquerors that ever exiſted; I mean Cyrus and Alexander, the one founder, the other deſtroyer, of the powerful empire of Perſia. He cauſes the former to be called by his name two hundred years before his birth; prophecies by the mouth of Iſaiah his victories; and relates the ſeveral circumſtances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which had never been ſeen before. On this occaſion, he points out Alexander, by the mouth of Daniel, and aſcribes ſuch qualities and characteriſtics as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as plainly as if he had been named.

Theſe paſſages of ſcripture, in which God explains himſelf clearly, ſhould be conſidered as very precious, and ſerve as ſo many keys to open to us the path to the ſecret methods by which he governs the world. Theſe faint glimmerings of light ſhould enable a rational and religious man to ſee every thing elſe clearly; and make him conclude, from what is ſaid of the four great empires of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the ſeveral events of profane hiſtory, God's perpetual care and regard for all men and all ſtates, whoſe deſtiny depends entirely on his wiſdom, his power, and his pleaſure.

We may eaſily figure to ourſelves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing ſuch

clear, ſuch circumſtantial, and advantageous promiſes. Before he left Jeruſalem, he aſſembled the Jews, and bid them aſk any favour whatſoever. They anſwered, that their requeſt was, to be allowed to live according to the laws which their anceſtors had left them, and to be exempted, the ſeventh year, from their uſual tribute; and for this reaſon, becauſe they were forbid by their laws to ſow their fields, and conſequently could have no harveſt. Alexander granted their requeſt, and, upon the high-prieſt's beſeeching him to ſuffer the Jews, who lived in Babylonia and Media, to live likewiſe agreeable to their own laws, he alſo indulged them in this particular with the utmoſt humanity; and ſaid further, that in caſe any of them would be willing to ſerve under his ſtandards, he would give them leave to follow their own way of worſhip, and to obſerve their reſpective cuſtoms: Upon which offer great numbers liſted themſelves.

He was ſcarce come from Jeruſalem, but the Samaritans waited upon him with great pomp and ceremony, humbly entreating him to do them alſo the honour to viſit their temple. As theſe had ſubmitted voluntarily to Alexander, and ſent him ſuccours, they imagined that they deſerved his favour much more than the Jews; and flattered themſelves that they ſhould obtain the ſame, and even much greater indulgence. It was in this view they made the pompous proceſſion above mentioned, in order to invite Alexander to their city; and the eight thouſand men they had ſent to ſerve under him, joined in the requeſt made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them courteouſly; but ſaid, that he was obliged to march into Egypt, and therefore had no ime to loſe; however, that he would viſit their city at his return, in caſe he had opportunity. They then beſought him to exempt them from paying a tribute every ſeventh year; upon which Alexander aſked them whether they were Jews? They made an ambiguous anſwer, which the king not having time to examine, he alſo ſuſpended this matter till his return, and immediately continued his march towards Gaza.

[5] Upon his arrival before that city, he found it provided with a ſtrong garriſon, commanded by Betis, one of Darius's eunuchs. This governor, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his ſovereign, defended it with great vigour againſt Alexander. As this was the only inlet or paſs into Egypt, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to beſiege it. But although every art of war was employed, notwithſtanding his ſoldiers fought with the utmoſt intrepidity, he was however forced to lie two months before it. Exaſperated at its holding out ſo long, and his receiving two wounds, he was reſolved to treat the governor, the inhabitants, and ſoldiers, with a barbarity abſolutely inexcuſable; for he cut ten thouſand men to pieces, and ſold all the reſt, with their wives and children, for ſlaves. When Betis, who had been taken priſoner in the laſt aſſault, was brought before him, Alexander, inſtead of uſing him kindly, as his valour and fidelity juſtly merited; this young monarch, who otherwiſe eſteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on that occaſion with an inſolent joy, ſpoke thus to him: "Betis, thou ſhalt not die the "death thou deſireſt. Prepare therefore to ſuffer all thoſe tor-"ments which revenge can invent." Betis, looking upon the king not only with a firm, but an haughty air, did not make the leaſt reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at this diſdainful ſilence—"Obſerve," ſaid he, "I be-"ſeech you, that dumb arrogance. Has he bended the knee? "Has he ſpoke but even ſo much as one ſubmiſſive word? But "I will conquer this obſtinate ſilence, and will force groans "from him, if I can draw nothing elſe." At laſt Alexander's * anger roſe to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune: Upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels; when a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered his ſoldiers to drag Betis round the city till he died. He boaſted his having imitated, on this occaſion; Achilles, from whom he was deſcended; who, as Ho-

[5] Diod. l. xvii. p. 526. Arrian, l. 2. p. 101—105. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 6. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.

* Iram deinde vertit in rabiem, jam tum peregrinos ritus nova ſubeunte fortuna. Quint. Curt

mer relates, cauſed the dead body of Hector to be dragged in the ſame manner round the walls of Troy †; as if a man ought ever to pride himſelf for having imitated ſo ill an example. Both were very barbarous; but Alexander was much more ſo, in cauſing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had ſerved his ſovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had intruſted him; a fidelity that ought to have been admired, and even rewarded by an enemy, rather than puniſhed in ſo cruel a manner.

He ſent the greateſt part of the plunder he found in Gaza to Olympias, to Cleopatra his ſiſter, and to his friends. He alſo preſented Leonidas, his preceptor, with five hundred quintals, or an hundred weight, of frankincenſe, and an hundred quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which ſeemed, even at that time, to preſage the conqueſts this monarch had lately achieved. For Leonidas, obſerving Alexander take up whole handfuls of incenſe at a ſacrifice, and throw it into the fire, ſaid to him, "Alexander, when you ſhall have conquered the country "which produces theſe ſpices, you then may be as profuſe of "incenſe as you pleaſe; but, till that day comes, be ſparing "of what you have." The monarch therefore writ to Leonidas as follows: "I ſend you a large quantity of incenſe and "myrrh, in order that you may no longer be ſo reſerved and "ſparing in your ſacrifices to the gods."

[h] As ſoon as Alexander had ended the ſiege of Gaza, he left a garriſon there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In ſeven days march he arrived before Peluſium, whither a great number of Egyptians had aſſembled, with all imaginable diligence, to recognize him for their ſovereign.

The hatred theſe people bore to the Perſians was ſo great, that they valued very little who ſhould be their king, provided

[h] A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331. Diod. l. xvii. p. 526—529. Arrian, l. iii. p. 104—110. Plut. in Alex. p. 679—681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 7, 8. Juſtin, l. xi. c. 11.

† Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile. Horat.

they could but meet with a hero to refcue them from the infolence and indignity with which themfelves, and thofe who profeffed their religion, were treated. For, how falfe foever a religion may be, and it is fcarce poffible to imagine one more abfurd than that of the Egyptians, fo long as it continues to be the eftablifhed religion, the people will not fuffer it to be infulted; nothing affecting their minds fo ftrongly, nor firing them to a greater degree. Ochus had caufed their god Apis to be murdered, in a manner highly injurious to themfelves and their religion; and the Perfians, to whom he had left the government, continued to make the fame mock of that deity. Thus feveral circumftances had rendered the Perfians fo odious, that, upon Amyntas's coming a little before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join and affift him in expelling the Perfians.

This Amyntas had deferted from Alexander, and entered into the fervice of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Iffus; and having fled into Syria, by the country lying towards Tripoli, with four thoufand men, he had there feized upon as many veffels as he wanted, burned the reft, and immediately fet fail towards the ifland of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Peluffium, which he took by furprife, upon feigning that he had been honoured with a commiffion from Darius, appointing him governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Iffus. As foon as he found himfelf poffeffed of this important city, he threw off the mafk, and made public pretenfions to the crown of Egypt; declaring, that the motive of his coming was to expel the Perfians. Upon this, a multitude of Egyptians, who wifhed for nothing fo earneftly as to free themfelves from thefe infupportable tyrants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom; when, coming to a battle, he defeated the Perfians, and fhut them up in the city. But, after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his foldiers together, they ftraggled up and down in fearch of plunder; which the enemy feeing, they fallied out upon fuch as remained, and cut them to pieces, with Amyntas their leader.

This event, so far from lessening the aversion the Egyptians had for the Persians, increased it still more; so that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all disposed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to submit to him. His arrival, at the head of a powerful army, presented them with a secure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and, from this consideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazaeus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so triumphant an army, and that Darius, his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him; he therefore set open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents, about one hundred and forty thousand pounds, and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition.

At Memphis he formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. This temple was situated in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya, and twelve days journey from Memphis. Ham[i], the son of Noah, first peopled Egypt and Libya, after the flood; and, when idolatry began to gain ground in the world some time after, he was the chief deity of these two countries in which his descendants had continued. A temple was built to his honour in the midst of these deserts, upon a spot of pretty good ground, about two leagues [k] broad, which formed a kind of island in a sea of sand. It is he whom the Greeks call Ζεὺς, Jupiter, * and the Egyptians, Ammon. In process of time these two names were joined, and he was called Jupiter-Ammon.

The motive of this journey, which was equally rash and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander, having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of their heroes were represented as the sons of some deity; and, as he himself was desirous of passing for an hero, he

[i] Plin. l. v. c. 9.

[k] Forty furlongs.

* For this reason, the city of Egypt which the scriptures † call No-Ammon, the city of Ham, or of Ammon, is called by the Greeks Διόσπολις, or the city of Jupiter.

† Jerem. xlvi. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.

was determined to have ſome god for his father. Accordingly, he fixed upon Jupiter-Ammon for that purpoſe, and began by bribing the prieſts, and teaching them the part they were to act.

It would have been to no purpoſe, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a deſign which was great in no other circumſtances than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already begun to aſſume, as Plutarch obſerves, that character of tenaciouſneſs and inflexibility which will do nothing but command; which cannot ſuffer advice, and much leſs bear oppoſition; which knows neither obſtacles nor dangers; which makes the beautiful to conſiſt in impoſſibility; in a word, which fancies itſelf able to force, not only enemies, but fortreſſes, ſeaſons, and the whole order of nature; the uſual effect of a long ſeries of proſperities, which ſubdues the ſtrongeſt, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We ourſelves have ſeen a famous * conqueror, who boaſted his treading in the ſteps of Alexander, carry farther than he had ever done this kind of ſavage heroiſm; and lay it down as a maxim to himſelf, never to recede from his reſolution.

[1] Alexander therefore ſets out; but going down from the river Memphis, till he came to the ſea, he coaſts it; and, after having paſſed Canopus, he obſerves, oppoſite to the iſland of Pharos, a ſpot he thought very well ſituated for the building of a city. He himſelf drew the plan of it, and marked out ſeveral places where the temples and public ſquares were to be erected. For the building it, he employed Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his rebuilding, at Epheſus, the temple of Diana, which Heroſtratus had burned. This city he called after his own name, and it afterwards roſe to be the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one ſide, and the Nile and the Red-ſea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffic of the eaſt and weſt; and thereby became, in a very little time, one of the moſt flouriſhing cities in the univerſe.

[1] A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331.

* Charles XII. king of Sweden.

Alexander had a journey to go of one thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia, or fourſcore French leagues, to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon; and moſt of the way was through ſandy deſerts. The ſoldiers were patient enough for the two firſt days march, before they arrived in the vaſt dreadful ſolitudes; but as ſoon as they found themſelves in vaſt plains, covered with ſands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded as with the ſea, they gazed round as far as their ſight could extend, to diſcover, if poſſible, ſome place that was inhabited: but all in vain; for they could not perceive ſo much as a ſingle tree, nor the leaſt footſteps of any land that had been cultivated. To increaſe their calamity, the water that they had brought in goat ſkins, upon camels, now failed; and there was not ſo much as a ſingle drop in all that ſandy deſert. They therefore were reduced to the ſad condition of dying almoſt with thirſt; not to mention the danger they were in of being buried under mountains of ſand, that were ſometimes raiſed by the winds; and which had formerly deſtroyed fifty thouſand of Cambyſes's troops. Every thing was by this time ſcorched in ſo violent a degree, and the air become ſo hot, that the men could ſcarcely breathe; when, on a ſudden, whether by chance, ſay the hiſtorians, or the immediate indulgence of heaven, the ſky was ſo completely overſpread with thick clouds, that they hid the ſun, which was a great relief to the army; though they were ſtill in prodigious want of water. But the ſtorm having diſcharged itſelf in a violent rain, every ſoldier got as much as he wanted; and ſome had ſo violent a thirſt, that they ſtood with their mouths open, and catched the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment he is to form of theſe marvellous incidents, with which hiſtorians have thought proper to embelliſh this relation.

They were ſeveral days in croſſing theſe deſerts; and, upon their arriving near the place where the oracle ſtood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the moſt advanced ſtandard. Theſe ravens ſometimes flew to the ground, when the army marched ſlowly; and at other times advanced forward, to ſerve them as guides, till they at laſt came to

the temple of the god. A vaſtly ſurpriſing circumſtance is, that although this oracle be ſituated in the midſt of an almoſt boundleſs ſolitude, it nevertheleſs is ſurrounded with a grove, ſo very ſhady, that the ſun beams can ſcarcely pierce it; not to mention that this grove or wood is watered with ſeveral ſprings of freſh water, which preſerve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midſt of which is a fountain, called the Water, or Fountain of the Sun. At day-break it is lukewarm, at noon cold; but in the evening it grows warmer inſenſibly, and at midnight boiling hot; after this, as day approaches, it decreaſes in heat, and continues this viciſſitude for ever.

The god who is worſhipped in this temple, is not repreſented under the form which painters and ſculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious ſtones, and from the head to the navel †, reſembles a ram. The king being come into the temple, the ſenior prieſt declared him to be the ſon of Jupiter; and aſſured, that the god himſelf beſtowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards aſked the prieſt, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the prieſt, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vainglorious, anſwered, that he ſhould be monarch of the univerſe. At laſt, he inquired, whether all his father's murderers had been puniſhed; but the prieſt replied, that he blaſphemed; that his father was immortal; but with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he ſhould be invincible, and afterwards take his ſeat among the deities. Having ended his ſacrifice, he offered magnificent preſents to the god, and did not forget the prieſts, who had been ſo faithful to his intereſt.

Swelled with the ſplendid title of the ſon of Jupiter, and fancying himſelf raiſed above the human ſpecies, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders, and decrees, he always wrote in the

† This paſſage in Quintus Curtius is pretty difficult, and is variouſly explained by interpreters.

ſtile following: [m] ALEXANDER, KING, SON OF JUPITER-AMMON: In anſwer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonſtrance in a few words, by deſiring him not to quarrel any longer with Juno.

Whilſt Alexander prided himſelf in theſe chimeras, and taſted the great pleaſure his vanity made him conceive from this pompous title, every one derided him in ſecret; and ſome, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject flattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account; but they paid very dear for that liberty, as the ſequel will ſhew. Not ſatisfied with endeavouring to paſs for the ſon of a god, and of being perſuaded, in caſe this were poſſible, that he really was ſuch, he himſelf would alſo paſs for a god; till at laſt, Providence having acted that part, of which ſhe was pleaſed to make him the inſtrument, brought him to his end, and thereby levelled him with the reſt of mortals.

Alexander, upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the Palus Marcotis, which was not far from the iſland of Pharos, made a viſit to the new city, part of which was now built. He took the beſt methods poſſible to people it, inviting thither all ſorts of perſons, to whom he offered the moſt advantageous conditions. [n] He drew to it, among others, a conſiderable number of Jews, by allowing them very great privileges; for, he not only left them the free exerciſe of their religion and laws, but put them on the ſame foot in every reſpect with the Macedonians, whom he ſettled there. From thence he went to Memphis, where he ſpent the winter.

Varro obſerves, that at the time this king built Alexandria, the uſe of papyrus, for writing, was found in Egypt; but this I ſhall mention elſewhere.

[o] During Alexander's ſtay in Memphis, he ſettled the affairs of Egypt, ſuffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into diſtricts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himſelf only; not thinking it ſafe to entruſt the general com-

[m] Varro apud A. Gel. l. xiii. c. 4. [n] Joſeph. contra Appian.

[o] Arrian. l. iii. c. 1[illegible]8–11. Quint. l. iv. c. 8.

mand of all the troops to one ſingle perſon, in ſo large and populous a country. With regard to the civil government, he inveſted one Deloaſpes with the whole power of it; for, being deſirous that Egypt ſhould ſtill be governed by its ancient laws and cuſtoms, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they muſt be familiar, was fitter for that office than any foreigner whatſoever.

To haſten the building of this new city, he appointed Cleomenes inſpector over it; with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abuſed his authority, and oppreſſed the people with the utmoſt barbarity.

SECTION VIII.

ALEXANDER reſolves to go in PURSUIT of DARIUS. The famous BATTLE of ARBELA.

ALEXANDER having ſettled the affairs of Egypt[p], ſet out from thence about ſpring-time, to march into the eaſt againſt Darius. In his way through Paleſtine, he heard news which gave him great uneaſineſs. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andromachus, whom he highly eſteemed, governor of Syria and Paleſtine. Andromachus coming to Samaria to ſettle ſome affairs in that country, the Samaritans mutinied, and ſetting fire to the houſe in which he was, burned him alive. It is very probable, that this was occaſioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the ſame privileges that had been granted the Jews, their enemies. Alexander was highly exaſperated againſt them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all thoſe who had any hand in it, baniſhed the reſt from the city of Samaria, ſupplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the reſt of their lands among the Jews.

He made ſome ſtay in Tyre, to ſettle the various affairs of

[p] Diod. l. xvii. p. 535—536. Arrian. l. iii. p. 111—123. Plut. in Alex. p. 681—685. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 9—16. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 12—14.

the countries he left behind him, and advanced towards new conquests.

[q] He was scarce set out, when an eunuch brought word, that Darius's consort was dead in child-bed. Hearing this, he returned back, and went into the tent of Sysigambis, whom he found bathed in tears, and lying on the ground, in the midst of the young princesses, who also were weeping; and near them the son of Darius, a child †, who was the more worthy of compassion, as he was less sensible to evils, which concerned him more than any other. Alexander consoled them in so kind and tender a manner, as plainly shewed that he himself was deeply and sincerely afflicted. He caused her funeral obsequies to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence. One of the eunuchs who superintended the chamber, and who had been taken with the princesses, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his consort's death. The Persian monarch was seized with the most violent affliction upon hearing this news; particularly, as he supposed she would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. But the eunuch undeceived him on this occasion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always shewn her in her life time. Darius, upon hearing these words, was fired with suspicions of so horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet.

Taking the eunuch aside, he spoke to him as follows. "If "thou dost still acknowledge Darius for lord and sovereign, "tell me, by the respect and veneration thou owest to that "great splendor of ‡ Mithres, which enlightens us, and to "this hand which the king stretches out to thee; tell me, I "say, whether, in bemoaning the death of Statira, I do not "bewail the least of her evils; and whether, as she fell into "the hands of a young monarch, she did not first lose her

[q] A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

† Ob id ipsum miserabilis, quod nondum sentiebat calamitatem, maxima ex parte ad ipsum redundantem. Q. Curt.

‡ The Persians worshipped the sun under the name of Mithres, and the moon under that of Mithra.

" honour, and afterwards her life." The eunuch, throwing himſelf at Darius's feet, beſought him not to think ſo injuriouſly of Alexander's virtue; nor diſhonour his wife and ſiſter after her death; and not deprive himſelf of the greateſt conſolation he could poſſibly have in his misfortunes, viz. to be firmly perſuaded, that the prince, who had triumphed over him, was ſuperior to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexander, as he had given the Perſian ladies much ſtronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Perſians themſelves of his valour. After this, he confirmed all he had before ſaid, by the moſt dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what public fame had related, concerning the wiſdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

Darius, returning into the hall where his courtiers were aſſembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he broke into the following prayer: " Ye gods, who preſide over the birth of " men, and who diſpoſe of kings and empires, grant that, af- " ter having raiſed the fortune of Perſia from its dejected " ſtate, I may tranſmit it to my deſcendants with the ſame " luſtre in which I received it; in order that, after having " triumphed over my enemies, I may acknowledge the fa- " vours which Alexander has ſhewn in my calamity to per- " ſons who, of all others, are moſt dear to me: Or, in caſe " the time ordained by the fates is at laſt come, or that it " muſt neceſſarily happen, from the anger of the gods, or " the ordinary viciſſitudes of human affairs, that the empire " of Perſia muſt end; grant, great gods, that none but Alex- " ander may aſcend the throne of Cyrus."

In the mean time, Alexander having ſet out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapſacus, where he paſſed a bridge that lay croſs the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tigris, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice, but finding at laſt that there were no hopes of their concluding one, unleſs he reſigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himſelf again for battle. For this purpoſe,

he aſſembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that of Iſſus, and marched it towards Nineveh : His forces covered all the plains of Meſopotamia. Advice being brought, that the enemy was not far off, he cauſed Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thouſand choſen horſe ; and likewiſe gave ſix thouſand to Mazaeus, governor of the province ; all whom were to prevent Alexander from croſſing the river, and to lay waſte the country through which that monarch was to paſs : But he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the eaſt, this is the moſt rapid ; and not only a great number of rivulets mix in its waves, but thoſe alſo drag along great ſtones ; ſo that it is named Tigris, by reaſon of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being ſo called in the Perſian tongue. Alexander founded thoſe parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the entrance, came up to the horſes bellies, and in the middle to their breaſts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half moon, and poſted his cavalry on the two wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and was the firſt who appeared on the oppoſite ſhore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the ſoldiers ; it not being poſſible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greateſt difficulty they kept themſelves above water, becauſe of the ſlipperineſs of the ſtones, and the impetuoſity of the ſtream. Such ſoldiers as not only carried their arms, but their clothes alſo, were much more fatigued ; for theſe being unable to go forward, were carried into whirlpools, unleſs they threw away their burdens. At the ſame time, the great number of clothes floating up and down, beat away the burdens of ſeveral ; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpoſe that the king commanded them, with a loud voice, to ſave nothing but their arms ; and aſſured them, that he himſelf would compenſate their other loſſes ; for not one of them would liſten to his admonitions or orders, ſo great was the noiſe and tumult. At

laſt, they all paſſed over that part of the ford where the water was ſhalloweſt, and the ſtream leſs impetuous, recovering however but a ſmall part of their baggage.

It is certain, that this army might eaſily have been cut to pieces, had they been oppoſed by a general who dared to conquer; that is, who made ever ſo little oppoſition to their paſſage. But Mazaeus, who might eaſily have defeated them, had he come up when they were croſſing the river in diſorder and confuſion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in battle array. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he paſſed the Granicus in ſight of ſo prodigious a multitude of horſe and foot, who waited his coming on the ſhore; and alſo in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the paſſes and ſtraits quite open and defenceleſs, where a ſmall number of troops might have checked his progreſs. This * circumſtance may leſſen our ſurpriſe at that exceſs of boldneſs, which was his peculiar characteriſtic, and which perpetually prompted him to attempt blindly the greateſt dangers; ſince, as he was always fortunate, he never had once room to ſuſpect himſelf guilty of raſhneſs.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his ſoldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow; but about nine or ten in the evening, the moon firſt loſt its light, and appeared afterwards quite ſullied, and, as it were, tinctured with blood. Now, as this happened juſt before a great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful ſucceſs of which filled the army with ſufficient diſquietude; they were firſt ſtruck with a religious awe, and, being afterwards ſeized with fear, they cried out, "That heaven diſplayed the marks "of its anger; and that they were dragged, againſt the will of "it, to the extremities of the earth; that rivers oppoſed their "paſſage; that the ſtars refuſed to lend their uſual light; and "that they could now ſee nothing but deſerts and ſolitudes; "that, merely to ſatisfy the ambition of one man, ſo many "thouſands ſhed their blood; and that for a man who con-

* Audaciae quoque, qua maxime viguit, ratio minui poteſt; quia nunquam in diſcrimen venit, an timere poſſet. Q. Curt.

" temned his own country, diſowned his father, and pretend-
" ed to paſs for a god."

Theſe murmurs were riſing to an open inſurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, ſummoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded ſuch of the Egyptian foothſayers as were beſt ſkilled in the knowledge of the ſtars, to declare what they thought of this phaenomenon. Theſe knew very well the natural cauſes of eclipſes of the moon; but, without entering into phyſical enquiries, they contented themſelves with ſaying, that the ſun was on the ſide of the Greeks, and the moon on that of the Perſians; and that, whenever it ſuffered an eclipſe, it always threatened the latter with ſome grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned ſeveral examples, all which they gave as true and indiſputable. Superſtition has a ſurpriſing aſcendant over the minds of the vulgar. How headſtrong and inconſtant ſoever they may be, yet if they are once ſtruck with a vain image of religion, they will ſooner obey foothſayers than their leaders. The anſwer made by the Egyptians being diſperſed among the ſoldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purpoſely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left the mountains called Gordyaei. At day-break the ſcouts, whom he had ſent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him; upon which, he immediately drew up his forces in battle-array, and ſet himſelf at their head. However, it was afterwards found, that they were only a detachment of a thouſand horſe that was going upon diſcoveries, and which ſoon retired to the main army. Nevertheleſs, news was brought the king, that Darius was now but an hundred and fifty ſtadia † from the place where they then were.

Not long before this, ſome letters had been intercepted, by which Darius ſolicited the Grecian ſoldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect ſo great an odium on the memory of this prince, as an attempt of that kind; an attempt ſo abject and black, and more than once repeated. A-

† Seven or eight leagues.

lexander was in doubt with himſelf, whether it would be proper for him to read theſe letters in a full aſſembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians. But Parmenio diſſuaded him from it; declaring, that it would be dangerous, even to awake ſuch thoughts in the minds of ſoldiers; that one only was ſufficient to ſtrike the blow; and that avarice was capable of attempting the moſt enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent counſel, and ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice ſued in vain for peace, and imagined that he had nothing to truſt to but his arms; nevertheleſs, being overcome by the advantageous circumſtances which had been told him concerning Alexander's tenderneſs and humility towards his family, he diſpatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him freſh conditions of peace more advantageous than the former; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former propoſals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys; but now he added the ſeveral territories ſituated between the Helleſpont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already poſſeſſed. Alexander made the following anſwer: "Tell your "ſovereign, that thanks, between perſons who make war "againſt each other, are ſuperfluous; and that, in caſe I "have behaved with clemency towards his family, it was for "my own ſake, and not for his; in conſequence of my own "inclination, and not to pleaſe him. To inſult the unhappy, "is a thing to me unknown. I do not attack either priſoners "or women, and turn my rage againſt ſuch only as are armed "for the fight. Did Darius ſue for peace in a ſincere view, I "then would debate on what is to be done; but ſince he ſtill "continues, by letters and by money, to ſpirit up my ſoldiers "to betray me, and my friends to murder me, I therefore am "determined to purſue him with the utmoſt vigour; and that "not as an enemy, but a poiſoner and an aſſaſſin. It indeed "becomes him, to offer to yield up to me what I am already "poſſeſſed of! Would he be ſatisfied with ranking himſelf as "ſecond to me, without pretending to be my equal, I might

" poſſibly then hear him. Tell him, that the world will not " permit two ſuns, nor two ſovereigns. Let him therefore " chooſe, either to ſurrender to-day, or fight me to-morrow, " and not flatter himſelf with the hopes of obtaining better " ſucceſs than he has hitherto had." Darius's propoſals are certainly not reaſonable; but then, is Alexander's anſwer much more ſo? In the former, we behold a prince, who is not yet ſenſible of his own weakneſs, or, at leaſt, who cannot prevail with himſelf to own it; and in the latter, we ſee a monarch quite intoxicated with his good fortune, and carrying his pride to ſuch an exceſs of folly, as is not to be paralelled: " The world " will not permit two ſuns, nor two ſovereigns." If this be greatneſs and not pride, I do not know what can ever deſerve the latter name. The ambaſſadors having leave to depart, returned back, and told Darius, that he muſt now prepare for battle. The latter pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamela, and the river Bumela, in a plain at a conſiderable diſtance from Arbela. He had before levelled the ſpot which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to move in; recollecting, that his fighting in the ſtraits of Cilicia, had loſt him the battle fought there. At the ſame time, he had prepared crows-feet † to annoy the enemy's horſe.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to reſt his army, and ſurrounded his camp with trenches and paliſades; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the uſeleſs ſoldiers in it, and march the remainder againſt the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he ſet out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day break; who upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander alſo marched in battle-array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could diſcover the enemy's whole

† Crows-feet is an inſtrument compoſed of iron ſpikes. Several of theſe are laid in the fields through which the cavalry is to march, in order that they may run into the horſe's feet.

army, he halted; and, having aſſembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they ſhould engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, becauſe it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the ſame order in which it had marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he aſſembled his general officers a ſecond time, and told them, that there was no occaſion for his making a ſpeech, becauſe their courage and great actions were alone ſufficient to excite them to glory; that he deſired them only to repreſent to the ſoldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occaſion, for Phoenicia or Egypt, but for all Aſia, which would be poſſeſſed by him who ſhould conquer; and that, after having gone through ſo many provinces, and left behind them ſo great a number of rivers and mountains, they could ſecure their retreat no otherwiſe than by gaining a complete victory. After this ſpeech, he ordered them to take ſome repoſe.

It is ſaid, that Parmenio adviſed him to attack the enemy in the night time, alleging that they might eaſily be defeated if fallen upon by ſurpriſe, and in the dark; but the king anſwered ſo loud that all preſent might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to ſteal a victory, and therefore he was reſolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. This was a haughty, but at the ſame time a prudent anſwer; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon ſo numerous an army in the night time, and in an unknown country. Darius, fearing he ſhould be attacked at unawares, becauſe he had not intrenched himſelf, obliged his ſoldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the higheſt prejudice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who in the criſis of affairs uſed always to conſult ſoothſayers, obſerving very exactly whatever they enjoined

in order to obtain the favour of the gods, finding himſelf upon the point of fighting a battle, the ſucceſs of which was to give empire to the conqueror, ſet for Ariſtander, in whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence. He then ſhut himſelf up with the foothſayer, to make ſome ſecret ſacrifices; and afterwards offered up victims to Fear*, which he doubtleſs did to prevent his army from being ſeized with dread, at the ſight of the formidable army of Darius. The foothſayer, dreſſed in his veſtments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, firſt repeated the prayers which the king was to addreſs to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed, to repoſe himſelf the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without ſome emotion, the conſequence of the battle, which was upon the point of being fought, he could not ſleep immediately. But his body being oppreſſed, in a manner, by the anxiety of his mind, he ſlept ſoundly the whole night, contrary to his uſual cuſtom: So that when his generals were aſſembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly ſurpriſed to find he was not awake; upon which they themſelves commanded the ſoldiers to take ſome refreſhment. Parmenio having at laſt awaked him, and ſeeming ſurpriſed to find him in ſo calm and ſweet a ſleep, juſt as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at ſtake; "How could it be "poſſible," ſaid Alexander, "for us not to be calm, ſince the "enemy is coming to deliver himſelf into our hands?" Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horſe, and rode up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if poſſible, to ſurpaſs their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers on the day of battle, imagine they ſee the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared ſo calm, ſo gay, nor ſo reſolute. The ſerenity and ſecurity which they obſerved in him, were in a manner ſo many aſſurances of the victory.

* We muſt read in Plutarch Φόβῳ inſtead of Θεῷ.

There was a great difference between the two armies with reſpect to numbers, but much more ſo with regard to courage. That of Darius conſiſted at * leaſt of ſix hundred thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe; and the other of no more than forty thouſand foot, and ſeven or eight thouſand horſe: But the latter was all fire and ſtrength; whereas, on the ſide of the Perſians, it was a prodigious aſſemblage of men, not of ſoldiers †; an empty phantom rather than a real army.

Both ſides were diſpoſed in very near the ſame array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that compoſed them; and commanded, in general, by the principal crown officers. The front of the battle, under Darius, was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with ſcythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his poſt in the centre of the firſt line. Beſides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he alſo had fortified himſelf with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his perſon; believing this body only capable of oppoſing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army ſpread over a much greater ſpace of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to ſurround and to charge them at one and the ſame time, both in front and flank.

But Alexander had guarded againſt this, by giving orders to the commanders of the ſecond line, that in caſe they ſhould be charged behind, to face about to that ſide; or elſe to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover the wings, in caſe the enemy ſhould charge them in flank. He had poſted, in the front of his firſt line, the greateſt part of his bowmen, ſlingers, hurlers of javelins, in order that theſe might make head againſt the chariots armed with ſcythes; and frighten the horſes, by diſcharging at them a ſhower of arrows, javelins, and ſtones. Thoſe who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as poſſible; but in ſuch a manner, as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the

* According to ſeveral hiſtorians, it amounted to upwards of a million of men.

† Nomina verius quam auxilia. Q. Curt.

captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp under a ſmall guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right.

When the two armies came in view, Alexander, who had been ſhewn the ſeveral places where the crows-feet were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the perſians advanced forward in proportion. Darius, being afraid leſt the Macedonians ſhould draw him from the ſpot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which ſpread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops farther. Then Alexander diſpatched againſt them the body of horſe in his ſervice commanded by Menidas; but as theſe were not able to make head againſt the enemy, becauſe of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Paeoneans, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry *. Beſides the advantage of numbers, they had that alſo of their coats of mail, which ſecured themſelves and their horſes much more. Alexander's cavalry was prodigiouſly annoyed: However, they marched to the charge with great bravery, and at laſt put them to flight.

Upon this, the Perſians oppoſed the chariots armed with ſcythes againſt the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it; but with little ſucceſs. The noiſe which the ſoldiers, who were lightly armed, made, by ſtriking their ſwords againſt their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all ſides, frighted the horſes, and made a great number of them turn back againſt their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horſes bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do; by which means they did little or no execution.

† Some relate that the Barbarians gave way at firſt, but ſoon returned to the charge.

Alexander, ſeeing Darius ſet his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a ſtratagem to encourage his ſoldiers. When the battle was at the hotteſt, and the Macedonians were in the greateſt danger, Ariſtander the ſoothſayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants as he had been inſtructed by the king; and, crying that he ſaw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head, a ſure omen of victory, he ſhewed with his finger the pretended bird to his ſoldiers; who, relying upon the ſincerity of the ſoothſayer, fancied they alſo ſaw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater cheerfulneſs, and ardour than ever. Then the king, perceiving that Aretas, after having charged the cavalry, and put them into diſorder, upon their advancing to ſurround his right wing, had begun to break the foremoſt ranks of the main body of the Barbarian army; he marched after Aretas, with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without purſuing the forces which he had thrown into diſorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had poſted himſelf. The preſence of the two kings inſpired both ſides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horſeback, both ſurrounded with their braveſt officers and ſoldiers, whoſe only endeavour was to ſave the lives of their reſpective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obſtinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equery with a javelin, the Perſians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the moſt diſmal ſounds, the whole army was ſeized with the greateſt conſternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and ſo abandoned the chariot; but thoſe who were at his right, took him into the centre of their body. Hiſtorians relate, that this prince having drawn his ſcimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himſelf, rather than fly in an ignominious manner: But perceiving from his chariot that his ſoldiers ſtill fought, he was aſhamed

to forſake them; and, as he was divided between hope and deſpair, the Perſians retired inſenſibly, and thinned their ranks, when it could no longer be called a battle, but a ſlaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the reſt; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in purſuing him.

Whilſt all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Perſian, Indian, and Parthian horſe, which were the beſt in all the Perſian army, having broke through the infantry on the left, advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives ſaw them arrive in the camp, they armed themſelves with every thing that came firſt to hand, and, reinforcing their cavalry, ruſhed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged both before and behind. They at the ſame time told Syſigambis, that Darius had won the battle; for this they believed; that the whole baggage was plundered; and that ſhe was now going to recover her liberty. But this princeſs, who was a woman of great wiſdom, though this news affected her in the ſtrongeſt manner, could not eaſily give credit to it; and being unwilling to exaſperate, by too haſty a joy, a conqueror who had treated her with ſo much humanity, ſhe did not diſcover the leaſt emotion; did not once change countenance, nor let drop a ſingle word; but, in her uſual poſture, calmly waited till the event ſhould denounce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the firſt report of this attack, had diſpatched a meſſenger to Alexander, to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was expoſed, and to receive his orders. "Above all things," ſaid the prince, "let him not weaken "his main body; let him not mind the baggage, but apply "himſelf wholly to the engagement; for victory will not on- "ly reſtore us to our own poſſeſſions, but alſo give thoſe of "the enemy into our hands." The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the centre of the ſecond line, ſeeing the enemy were going to make themſelves maſters of the camp and baggage, made a half turn to the right, in obedience to the order which had been given, and

fell upon the Perſians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the reſt obliged to retire; but as theſe were horſe, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himſelf was expoſed to much greater peril. Mazaeus, having ruſhed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to ſurround them. Immediately Parmenio ſent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; declaring, that in caſe he were not immediately ſuccoured, it would be impoſſible for him to keep his ſoldiers together. The prince was actually purſuing Darius, and, fancying he was almoſt come up with him, rode with the utmoſt ſpeed. He flattered himſelf, that he ſhould abſolutely put an end to the war, in caſe he could but ſeize his perſon. But upon this news he turned about, in order to ſuccour his left wing; ſhuddering with rage, to ſee his prey and victory torn in this manner from him; and complaining againſt fortune, for having favoured Darius more in his flight, than himſelf in the purſuit of that monarch.

Alexander in his march met the enemy's horſe who had plundered the baggage; all which were returning in good order, and retiring back, not as ſoldiers who had been defeated, but almoſt as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obſtinate than before; for the Barbarians marching cloſe in columns, not in order of battle, but that of a march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuſe themſelves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling about, according to their uſual cuſtom; but, man engaging againſt man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorſe his enemy. Alexander loſt threeſcore of his guards in this attack. Hephaeſtion, Coenus, and Menidas, were wounded in it; however, he triumphed on this occaſion, and all the Barbarians were cut to pieces, except ſuch as forced their way through his ſquadrons.

During this, news had been brought Mazaeus that Darius was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill ſucceſs of that monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his ſide, he ceaſed to charge the enemy, who

were now in diſorder, ſo briſkly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to paſs that the battle, which before was carried on ſo warmly, ſhould ſlacken on a ſudden: However, like an able commander, who ſeizes every advantage, and who employs his utmoſt endeavours to inſpire his ſoldiers with freſh vigour, he obſerved to them, that the terror which ſpread throughout the whole army, was the forerunner of their defeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the laſt hand to the victory. Upon his exhortations, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; when, transformed into other men, they gave their horſes the rein, and charged the enemy with ſo much fury, as threw them into the greateſt diſorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up that inſtant; and, overjoyed to find the ſcale turned in his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed, in concert with Parmenio, the purſuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he ſhould come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only juſt paſſed by it, and left his treaſure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and ſhield.

Such was the ſucceſs of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian the Perſians loſt three hundred thouſand men, beſides thoſe who were taken priſoners; which at leaſt is a proof that the loſs was very great on their ſide. That of Alexander was very inconſiderable, he not loſing, according to the laſt mentioned author, twelve hundred men, moſt of whom were horſe. [r] This engagement was fought in the month of * October, about the ſame time, two years before, that the battle of Iſſus was fought. As Gaugamela, in Aſſyria, the ſpot where the two armies engaged, was a ſmall place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being neareſt to the field of battle.

[r] A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

* The month called by the Greeks Boedromion, anſwers partly to our month of October.

SECTION IX.

ALEXANDER takes ARBELA, BABYLON, SUSA, PERSEPOLIS; and finds immenſe RICHES in thoſe CITIES.

ALEXANDER's firſt care [t], after his obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent ſacrifices to the gods by way of thankſgiving. He afterwards rewarded ſuch as had ſignalized themſelves remarkably in battle; beſtowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houſes, employments, and governments. But being deſirous of expreſſing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generaliſſimo againſt the Perſians, he gave orders for abolifhing the ſeveral tyrannical inſtitutions that had ſtarted up in Greece; that the cities ſhould be reſtored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Plataeans, declaring that it was his deſire their city ſhould be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by which their anceſtors had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in defending the common liberties of Greece. [u] He alſo ſent part of the ſpoils to the people of Crotona in Italy; to honour, though ſo many years after, the good-will and courage of Phayllus the champion, a native of their country, who, whilſt war was carrying on between the Medes, and when all the reſt of the Greeks that were ſettled in Italy had abandoned the true Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone, fitted out a gally at his own expence, and ſailed to Salamis, to partake of the danger to which his countrymen were at that time expoſed. So great a friend and encourager, ſays Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue; conſidering himſelf, ſays the ſame author, obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions; to give immortality to merit, and propoſe them to poſterity as ſo many models for their imitation.

Darius, after his defeat, having but very few attendants,

[t] Diod. l. xvii. p. 538—540. Arrian. l. iii. p. 127—134. Plut. in Alex. p. 685—688. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1—7. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 14.

[u] Herodotus relates this hiſtory in very few words, l. vii. c. 47.

had rode towards the river Lycus. After croſſing it, ſeveral adviſed him to break down the bridges, becauſe the enemy purſued him. But he made this generous anſwer, " * That " life was not ſo dear to him, as to make him deſire to pre- " ſerve it by the deſtruction of ſo many thouſands of his ſub- " jects and faithful allies, who, by that means, would be de- " livered up to the mercy of the enemy; that they had as " much right to paſs over this bridge as their ſovereign, and " conſequently that it ought to be as open to them." After riding a great number of leagues full ſpeed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by a great number of the nobility, and a few of his guards. The reaſon of his going that way was, his ſuppoſing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Suſa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory; beſides, a numerous army could not purſue him by this road; whereas, in the other, horſes and chariots might advance with great eaſe; not to mention that the ſoil was very fruitful.

A few days after Arbela ſurrendered to Alexander, who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich clothes, and other precious moveables, with four thouſand talents, about ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his ſetting out againſt Alexander, as was before obſerved. But he was ſoon obliged to leave that place, becauſe of the diſeaſes that ſpread in his camp, occaſioned by the infection of the dead bodies which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced therefore over the plains towards Babylon, and, after four days march, arrived at Memnis, where, in a cave, is ſeen the celebrated fountain which throws out ſo vaſt a quantity of bitumen, that, we are told, it was uſed as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired moſt, was a great gulf, whence ſtreamed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhauſtible ſpring; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing, from the

* Non ita ſe ſaluti ſuae velle conſultum, ut tot millia ſociorum hoſti objicial: debere et alii fugae viam patere, quae patuerit ſibi. Juſtin.

prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake pretty near the gulf. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, but has one quality more, viz. its catching fire ſo very ſuddenly, that, before it touches a flame, it takes fire merely from the light that ſurrounds the flame, and ſets the air between both on fire. The Barbarians being deſirous of ſhewing the king the ſtrength and ſubtilty of this combuſtible ſubſtance, ſcattered ſeveral drops of it up and down after his arrival in Babylon, in that ſtreet which went up to the houſe he had choſen for his reſidence. After this, going to the other end of the ſtreet, they brought torches near the places where thoſe drops were fallen, for it was night; and the drops which were nigheſt the torches taking fire on a ſudden, the flame ran in an inſtant to the other end; by which means the whole ſtreet ſeemed in one general conflagration.

When Alexander was got near Babylon, Mazaeus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, ſurrendered himſelf, with his children, who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The king was very well pleaſed with his arrival; for he would have met with great difficulties in beſieging a city of ſuch importance, and ſo well provided with every thing. Beſides his being a perſon of great quality, and very brave, he had alſo acquired great honour in the laſt battle; and others might have been prompted, from the example he ſet them, to imitate him. Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithſtanding the greateſt part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient deſire they had to ſee their new ſovereign, whoſe renown had far outſtripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortreſs, and guardian of the treaſure, unwilling to diſcover leſs zeal than Mazaeus, ſtrewed the ſtreets with flowers, and raiſed on both ſides of the way ſilver altars, which ſmoked not only with frankincenſe, but the moſt fragrant perfumes of every kind. Laſt of all came the preſents which were to be made the king, viz. herds of cattle and a great number of horſes; as alſo

lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After theſe the magi walked, ſinging hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babyloniſh ſoothſayers and muſicians. It was cuſtomary for the latter to ſing the praiſes of their king to their inſtruments; and the Chaldeans to obſerve the motion of the planets, and the viciſſitude of ſeaſons. The rear was brought up by the Babyloniſh cavalry, which, both men and horſes, were ſo ſumptuous, that imagination can ſcarce reach their magnificence. The king cauſed the people to walk after his infantry, and himſelf, ſurrounded with his guards, and ſeated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables. Of the monies he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraordinary recompence, to each Macedonian horſeman ſix minae, about fifteen pounds; to each mercenary horſeman two minae, about five pounds; to every Macedonian foot ſoldier, two minae; and to every one of the reſt two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders, purſuant to the advice of the magi, with whom he had ſeveral conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demoliſhed; and, among others, that of Belus, who was in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazaeus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander, in the midſt of the hurry and tumult of war, ſtill preſerved a love for the ſciences. He uſed often to converſe with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy from its origin, and gained great fame by their knowledge in it. * They preſented him with aſtronomical obſervations taken by their predeceſſors during the ſpace of one thouſand nine hundred and three years, which conſequently went as far backward as the age of Nimrod. Theſe were ſent by Calliſthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Ariſtotle.

The king reſided longer in Babylon than he had done in

* Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de Coelo.

any other city, which was of great prejudice to the diſcipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themſelves to pleaſures, to voluptuouſneſs, and the moſt infamous exceſſes; nor did ladies, though of the higheſt quality, obſerve any decorum, or ſhew the leaſt reſerve in their immoral actions; but gloried therein, ſo far from endeavouring to conceal them, or bluſhing at their enormity. It muſt be confeſſed, that this army of ſoldiers, which had triumphed over Aſia, after having thus enervated themſelves, and rioted, as it were, in the ſloth and luxury of the city of Babylon, for thirty-four days together, would have been ſcarce able to complete their exploits, had they been oppoſed by an enemy. But as they were reinforced from time to time, theſe irregularities were not ſo viſible; for Amyntas brought ſix thouſand foot and five hundred Macedonian horſe, which were ſent by Antipater; and ſix hundred Thracian horſes, with three thouſand five hundred foot of the ſame nation; beſides four thouſand mercenaries from Peloponneſus, with near four hundred horſes.

The above mentioned Amyntas had alſo brought the king fifty Macedonian youths, ſons to noblemen of the higheſt quality in the country, to ſerve as his guards. The youths in queſtion waited upon him at table, brought him his horſes when in the field, attended upon him in parties of hunting, and kept guard at the door of his apartment by turns: And theſe were the firſt ſteps to the higheſt employments both in the army and the ſtate.

After Alexander had left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the ſoil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But leaſt indolence ſhould enervate the courage of his ſoldiers, he propoſed prizes for ſuch of them as ſhould exert the greateſt bravery; and appointed, as judges of the actions of thoſe who ſhould diſpute this honour, perſons, who themſelves had been eye-witneſſes of the proofs of bravery which each ſoldier had given in the former battles; for on theſe only the prizes were to be beſtowed. To each of the eight men

who were pronounced moſt valiant, he gave a regiment conſiſting of a thouſand men; whence thoſe officers were called Chiliarchi. This was the firſt time that regiments were compoſed of ſo great a number of ſoldiers, conſiſting before but of five hundred, and had not yet been the reward of valour. The ſoldiers ran in crowds to view this illuſtrious fight, not only as eye-witneſſes of the actions of all, but as judges over the judges themſelves; becauſe they might perceive, very eaſily, whether rewards were beſtowed on merit, or merely by favour; a circumſtance in which ſoldiers can never be impoſed upon. The prizes ſeem to have been diſtributed with the utmoſt equity and juſtice.

He likewiſe made ſeveral very advantageous changes in military diſcipline, as eſtabliſhed by his predeceſſors; for he formed one ſingle body of his whole cavalry, without ſhewing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed ſuch officers to command them as they themſelves thought fit to nominate; whereas before, the horſemen of every nation uſed to fight under his own particular ſtandard, and was commanded by a colonel of that country. The trumpet's ſound uſed to be the ſignal for the march; but as it very frequently could not be well heard, becauſe of the great noiſe that is made in decamping, he gave orders that a ſtandard ſhould be ſet up over his tent, which might be ſeen by his whole army. He alſo appointed fire to be the ſignal in the night-time, and ſmoke in the day.

Alexander marched afterwards towards Suſa, where he arrived twenty days after his leaving Babylon. As he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province, ſent his ſon to meet him, with a promiſe to ſurrender the city into his hands. Whether he was prompted to this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience to the orders of Darius, to amuſe Alexander with the hopes of plunder; the king gave this young nobleman a very gracious reception, who attended him as far as the river Choaſpes, the waters of which are ſo famous upon account of their exquiſite taſte. [x] The kings of Perſia never drank of any other; and, whitherſoever they went, a quantity

[x] Herod. lib. i. c. 188.

of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them in filver vafes. It was here Abutites came to wait upon him, bringing prefents worthy of a king; among which were dromedaries of incredible fwiftnefs, and twelve elephants which Darius had fent for from India. Being come into the city, he took immenfe fums out of the treafury, with fifty thoufand * talents of filver in ore and ingots, befides moveables, and a thoufand other things of infinite value. This wealth was the produce of the exactions impofed for feveral centuries upon the common people, from whofe fweat and poverty, immenfe revenues were raifed. The Perfian monarchs fancied they had amaffed them for their children and poftерity; but, in one hour, they fell into the hands of a foreign king, who was able to make a right ufe of them; for Alexander feemed to be merely the guardian or truftee of the immenfe riches which he found hoarded up in Perfia; and applied them to no other ufe, than the rewarding of merit and courage.

Among other things, there was found † five thoufand quintals of Hermione ‡ purple, the fineft in the world, which had been treafuring up there during the fpace of one hundred and ninety years; notwithftanding which, its beauty and luftre was nowife diminifhed.

Here likewife was found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen ftatues of Hermodius and Ariftogiton, which Alexander fent afterwards to Athens, where they were ftanding in § Arrian's time.

The king, being refolved to march into Perfia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Sufa, with a garrifon of three thoufand men; Mazrus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with a thoufand Mace-

* About feven millions five hundred thoufand pounds.

† The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told, that this purple was fold at the rate of an hundred livres a pound. The quintal is an hundred weight of Paris.

‡ Hermione was a city of Argolis, where the beft purple was dyed.

§ What Arrian afcribes here to Alexander in regard to the ftatues of Hermodius and Ariftogiton, is attributed by other hiftorians to other princes.

donian ſoldiers, who could not follow him by reaſon of their great age. He gave the government of Suſiana to Abutites.

He left Darius's mother and children in Suſa, and having received from Macedonia a great quantity of purple ſtuffs and rich habits, made after the faſhion of the country, he preſented them to Syſigambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them; for he paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if ſhe had been his mother. He likewiſe commanded the meſſengers to tell her, that in caſe ſhe fancied thoſe ſtuffs, ſhe might make her grandchildren learn the art of weaving them by way of amuſement; and to give them as preſents to whomſoever they ſhould think proper. At theſe words, the tears which fell from her eyes ſhewed but too evidently how greatly ſhe was diſpleaſed with theſe gifts; the working in wool being conſidered by the Perſian women as the higheſt ignominy. Thoſe who carried theſe preſents, having told the king that Syſigambis was very much diſſatisfied, he thought himſelf obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and adminiſter ſome conſolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a viſit, when he ſpoke thus: "Mother, "the ſtuff in which you ſee me clothed, was not only a gift "of my ſiſters, but wrought by their fingers. Hence I beg "you to believe, that the cuſtom of my country miſled me; "and do not conſider that as an inſult, which was owing en"tirely to ignorance. I believe I have not, as yet, done any "thing which I knew interfered with your manners and cuſ"toms. I was told, that among the Perſians it is a ſort of crime "for a ſon to ſeat himſelf in his mother's preſence, without "firſt obtaining her leave. You are ſenſible how cautious I "have always been in this particular; and that I never ſat "down, till you had firſt laid your commands upon me to do "ſo. And every time that you was going to fall proſtrate "before me, I only aſk you, whether I would ſuffer it? As "the higheſt teſtimony of the veneration I have for you, I al"ways called you by the tender name of mother, though

" this belongs properly to Olympias only, to whom I owe my " birth."

What I have juſt now related, may ſuggeſt two reflections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the ſame time of the utmoſt importance.

Firſt, we ſee to how great a height the Perſians, ſo vain and haughty in other reſpects, carried the veneration they ſhewed their parents. The reader, doubtleſs, remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midſt of his conqueſts, and the moſt exalted pitch to which fortune had raiſed him, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, viz. of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had firſt adviſed with his father and mother, and obtained their conſent. Hiſtory informs us here, that among the Perſians * a ſon never dared to ſeat himſelf before his mother, till he had firſt obtained her leave; and that to do otherwiſe was conſidered as a crime. Alas! how widely do our manners differ from ſo excellent an inſtitution!

Secondly, I diſcover, in the ſame relation, ſeveral valuable footſteps of that happy ſimplicity which prevailed in ancient times, when it was the cuſtom for ladies, though of the greateſt diſtinction, to employ themſelves in uſeful, and ſometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in ſcripture to this purpoſe concerning Rebecca, Rachel, and ſeveral others. We read in Homer, of princeſſes drawing themſelves water from ſprings; and waſhing, with their own hands, the linen of their reſpective families. † Here the ſiſters of Alexander, that is the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making clothes for their brother. The celebrated Lucretia uſed to ſpin in the midſt of her female attendants. Auguſtus, who was ſovereign of the world, wore, for ſeveral years together, no other clothes but what his wife and ſiſter made him. It was a cuſtom in the northern parts of the world, not many years ſince, for the princeſs, who then ſat upon the throne,

* Scio apud vos, filium in conſpectu matris nefas eſſe conſidere, niſi cum illa permiſit. Q. Curt.

† Mater, hanc veſtem, quam indutus ſum, ſororum non ſolum donum, ſed etiam opus vides. Q. Curt.

to prepare ſeveral of the diſhes at every meal. In a word, needle-work, the care of domeſtic affairs, a ſerious and retired life, is the proper function of women; and for this they were deſigned by Providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to theſe cuſtoms, which are very near as old as the creation, an idea of meanneſs and contempt: But then, what has it ſubſtituted in the room of the harſh and vigorous exerciſes which a juſt education enabled the ſex to undertake, to that laborious and uſeful life which was ſpent at home? A ſoft indolence, a ſtupid idleneſs, frivolous converſations, vain amuſements, a ſtrong paſſion for public ſhews, and a frantic love of gaming. Let us compare theſe two characters, and then pronounce which of them may juſtly boaſt its being founded on good ſenſe, ſolid judgment, and a taſte for truth and nature. It muſt, nevertheleſs, be confeſſed, in honour of the fair ſex of our nation, that ſeveral ladies among us, and thoſe of the higheſt quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleaſure, to employ themſelves in needle-works, not of a trifling, but of the moſt uſeful kind; and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. I alſo might add, that great numbers of theſe adorn their minds with agreeable, and at the ſame time ſerious and uſeful ſtudies.

Alexander, having taken his leave of Syſigambis, who now was extremely well ſatisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by the inhabitants Paſi-Tigris *. Having croſſed it with nine thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, conſiſting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of three thouſand Thracians, he entered the country of the Uxii. This region lies near Suſa, and extends to the frontiers of Perſia; a narrow paſs only lying between it and Suſiana. Madathes commanded this province. † This man was not a time-ſerver, nor a follower of fortune; but, faithful to his ſovereign, he reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity; and, for this purpoſe, had withdrawn into his own city, which ſtood in the midſt of craggy rocks, and was ſurrounded with precipices.

* This river differs from the Tigris.

† Haud ſane temporum homo: quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. Q. Curt.

Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the beſieged ſent thirty deputies to Alexander, to ſue for quarter; which they obtained at laſt, by the interceſſion of Syſigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princeſs, but likewiſe ſet all the captives, and thoſe who had ſurrendered themſelves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their ſeveral rights and privileges; would not ſuffer the city to be plundered, but let them plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Syſigambis have poſſibly obtained more from her own ſon on this occaſion, had he been the victor?

The Uxii being ſubdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain; whilſt himſelf, at the head of his light-armed troops, croſſed the mountains, which extend as far as Perſia. The fifth day he arrived at the paſs of Suſa. Ariobarzanes, with four thouſand foot and ſeven hundred horſe, had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe rocks, which are craggy on all ſides, and poſted the Barbarians at the ſummit, out of the reach of arrows. He alſo had built a wall in thoſe paſſes, and encamped his forces under it. As ſoon as Alexander advanced, in order to attack him, the Barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, ſtones of a prodigious ſize, which falling from rock to rock, ruſhed forward with the greater violence, and at once cruſhed to pieces whole bands of ſoldiers. The king, being very much terrified at this ſight, commanded a retreat to be ſounded; and it was with the utmoſt grief he ſaw himſelf not only ſtopped at this paſs, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it.

Whilſt he was revolving theſe gloomy thoughts, a Grecian priſoner ſurrendered himſelf to Alexander, with a promiſe to conduct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, when, leaving the ſuperintendance of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cauſe a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the Barbarians might thereby be more ſtrongly induced to believe, that Alexander was there in perſon. After this,

taking ſome choſen troops with him, he ſet out, going through all the by-ways, as his guide directed. But, beſides that theſe paths were very craggy, and the rocks ſo ſlippery, that their feet would ſcarce ſtand upon them; the ſoldiers were alſo very much diſtreſſed by the ſnows which the winds had brought together, and which were ſo high, that the men fell into them, as into ſo many ditches; and, when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out, they themſelves would likewiſe ſink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increaſed by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide whoſe fidelity was doubtful. After having gone through a great number of difficulties and dangers, they at laſt got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they diſcovered the enemy's corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them, ſword in hand, at a time when they leaſt expected it. Such as made the leaſt defence, who were but few, were cut to pieces; by which means, the cries of the dying on one ſide, and on the other the fright of thoſe who were flying to their main body, ſpread ſo great a terror, that they fled, without ſtriking a blow. At this noiſe, Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded at his going away, and ſeized the paſs, which till then had reſiſted his attacks; and, at the ſame time, Philotas advanced forwards by another way, with Amyntas, Coenus, and Polyſperchon, and broke quite through the Barbarians, who now were attacked on every ſide. The greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, and thoſe who fled, fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, eſcaped by flying over the mountains.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune which conſtantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himſelf happily out of the danger to which he was ſo lately expoſed, marched immediately towards Perſia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Perſepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treaſures, with which he was intruſted, and therefore that it was neceſſary for him to make all the haſte

imaginable to ſeize them himſelf; that he had only the * Araxes to croſs, after which the road was ſmooth and eaſy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harraſſed by the length and ſwiftneſs of this march, and paſſed the Araxes on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built ſome days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the greateſt miſery. Theſe were about four thouſand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made priſoners of war, had ſuffered all the torments which the Perſian tyranny could inflict. The hands of ſome had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had loſt their noſes and ears: After which, having impreſſed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as ſo many laughing-ſtocks, with which they ſported perpetually. They appeared like ſo many ſhadows, rather than like men; ſpeech being almoſt the only thing by which they were known to be ſuch. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this ſight; and, as they unanimouſly beſought him to commiſerate their condition, he bid them, with the utmoſt tenderneſs, not to deſpond, and aſſured them, that they ſhould again ſee their wives and country. This propoſal, which one might ſuppoſe ſhould naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions ariſing on that occaſion. "How will it be poſſible," ſaid ſome of them, "for us to appear publicly before all Greece, "in the dreadful condition to which we are reduced; a con- "dition ſtill more ſhameful than diſſatisfactory? The beſt way "to bear miſery is to conceal it; and no country is ſo ſweet "to the wretched as ſolitude, and an oblivion of their paſt "calamities. Beſides, how will it be poſſible for us to under- "take ſo long a journey? Driven to a great diſtance from "Europe, baniſhed to the moſt remote parts of the Eaſt, worn "out with age, and moſt of our limbs maimed, can we pre- "tend to undergo fatigues which have even wearied a tri- "umphant army? The only thing that now remains for us, is

* This is not the ſame river with that in Armenia.

" to hide our misery, and to end our days among thoſe who " are already ſo accuſtomed to our misfortunes." Others, in whom the love of their country extinguiſhed all other ſentiments, repreſented. " That the gods offered them what they " ſhould not even have dared to wiſh, viz. their country, their " wives, their children, and all thoſe things for whoſe ſake " men are fond of life, and deſpiſe death. That they had " long enough born the ſad yoke of ſlavery; and that no- " thing happier could preſent itſelf, than their being indulged " the bliſs of going at laſt, to breathe their native air, to re- " ſume their ancient manners, laws, and ſacrifices, and to die " in preſence of their wives and children."

However, the former opinion prevailed; and accordingly they beſought the king to permit them to continue in a country, where they had ſpent ſo many years. He granted their requeſt, and preſented each of them * three thouſand drachms; five men's ſuits of clothes, and the ſame number for women; two couple of oxen to plough their lands, and corn to ſow them. He commanded the governor of the province not to ſuffer them to be moleſted in any manner, and ordered that they ſhould be free from taxes and tributes of every kind. Such behaviour as this was truly royal. It was, indeed, impoſſible for Alexander to reſtore them the limbs of which the Perſians had ſo cruelly deprived them; but then he reſtored them to liberty, tranquillity, and abundance. Thrice happy thoſe princes, who are affected with the pleaſure which ariſes from the doing of good actions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunate!

Alexander, having called together, the next day, the generals of his army, repreſented to them, " That no city in the " world had ever been more fatal to the Greeks than Perſe- " polis, the ancient reſidence of the Perſian monarchs, and " the capital of their empire. For that it was from thence all " thoſe mighty armies poured, which had overflowed Greece; " and whence Darius, and afterwards Xerxes, had carried the " firebrand of the moſt accurſed war, which had laid waſte all

† About one hundred and fifty pounds.

" Europe: and therefore that it was incumbent on them to re-
" venge the manes of their anceſtors." It was already abandoned by the Perſians, who all fled ſeparately as fear drove them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the victorious ſoldiers ſoon met with riches ſufficient to ſatiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all thoſe who ſtill remained in the city. However, the king ſoon put an end to the maſſacre, and publiſhed an order, by which his ſoldiers were forbid to violate the chaſtity of the women. Alexander had before poſſeſſed himſelf, either by force or capitulation, of a great number of incredibly rich cities; but all this was a trifle compared to the treaſures he found here. The Barbarians had laid up at Perſepolis, as in a ſtorehouſe, all the wealth of Perſia. Gold and ſilver were never ſeen here but in heaps; not to mention the clothes and furniture of ineſtimable value; for this was the ſeat of luxury. There was found in the treaſury one hundred and twenty thouſand talents *, which were deſigned to defray the expence of the war. To this prodigious ſum he added † ſix thouſand talents, taken from Paſagarda. This was a city which Cyrus had built, wherein the kings of Perſia uſed to be crowned.

During Alexander's ſtay in Perſepolis, a little before he ſet out upon his march againſt Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the gueſts drank to exceſs. Among the women, who were admitted to it maſked, was Thais the courtezan, a native of Attica, and at that time miſtreſs to Ptolemy, who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end of the feaſt, during which ſhe had ſtudiouſly endeavoured to praiſe the king in the moſt artful and delicate manner, a ſtratagem too often practiſed by women of that character, ſhe ſaid with a gay tone of voice, " That it would be matter of in-
" expreſſible joy to her, were ſhe permitted, maſked as ſhe
" then was, and, in order to end this feſtival nobly, to burn
" the magnificent palace of Xerxes, who had burned Athens;
" and ſet it in fire with her own hand, in order that it might be
" ſaid in all parts of the world, that the women, who had

* About eighteen millions Sterling.

† About nine hundred thouſand pounds.

" followed Alexander in his expedition to Aſia, had taken " much better vengeance of the Perſians, for the many cala- " mities they had brought upon the Grecians, than all the " generals who had fought for them both by ſea and land." All the gueſts applauded the diſcourſe; when immediately the king roſe from table, his head being crowned with flowers, and taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward to execute this mighty exploit. The whole company follow him, breaking into loud acclamations; and afterwards, ſinging and dancing, they ſurround the palace. All the reſt of the Macedonians, at this noiſe, ran in crouds, with lighted tapers, and ſet fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was ſorry, not long after, for what he had done; and thereupon gave orders for extinguiſhing the fire: but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great ſucceſſes increaſed this beneficent diſpoſition; and he accompanied the preſents he made with ſuch teſtimonies of humanity and kindneſs, and ſo obliging a carriage, as very much enhanced their merit. He exerted this temper in a particular manner, towards the fifty Macedonian young lords, who ſerved under him as guards. Olympias his mother, thinking him too profuſe, wrote to him as follows: " I do not blame you," ſaid ſhe, " for be- " ing beneficent towards your friends, for that is acting like " a king: But then a medium ought to be obſerved in your " magnificence. You equal them all with kings, and by heap- " ing riches on them, you give them an opportunity of mak- " ing a great number of friends, of all whom you deprive " yourſelf." As ſhe often wrote the ſame advice to him, he always kept her letters very ſecret, and did not ſhew them to any perſon; but happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephaeſtion drew near to him, and read it over his ſhoulder, which the king obſerving, did not offer to hinder him; but taking only his ring from the finger, he put the ſeal of it upon the lips of his favourite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read.

He uſed to ſend magnificent preſents to his mother; but then he would never let her have any concern in the affairs

of the government. She uſed frequently to make very ſevere complaints upon that account; but he always ſubmitted to her ill humour with great mildneſs and patience. Antipater having one day wrote a long letter againſt her, the king after reading it, replied, "Antipater does not know that one ſingle tear "ſhed by a mother will obliterate ten thouſand ſuch letters "as this." A behaviour like this, and ſuch an anſwer, ſhew, at one and the ſame time, that Alexander was both a kind ſon and an able politician; and that he was perfectly ſenſible how dangerous it would have been, had he inveſted a woman of Olympias's character with the ſupreme authority.

SECTION X.

DARIUS leaves ECBATANA. His DEATH. ALEXANDER ſends his CORPSE to SYSIGAMBIS.

ALEXANDER[x], after he had taken Perſepolis and Paſagarda, was reſolved to purſue Darius, who was arrived by this time at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained ſtill with this fugitive prince thirty thouſand foot, among whom were four thouſand Greeks, who were faithful to him to the laſt. Beſides theſe, he had four thouſand ſlingers, and upwards of three thouſand cavalry, moſt of them Bactrians, commanded by Beſſus governor of Bactria. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before them; then aſſembling his principal officers, he ſpoke to them as follows: "Dear companions, among ſo many "thouſand men who compoſed my army, you only have not "abandoned me during the whole courſe of my ill fortune; "and in a little time, nothing but your fidelity and conſtancy "will be able to make me fancy myſelf a king. Deſerters "and traitors now govern in my cities; not that they are "thought worthy of the honour beſtowed on them, but re- "wards are given them only in the view of tempting you, and "to ſtagger your perſeverance. You ſtill choſe to follow my "fortune rather than that of the conqueror, for which you

[x] Diod. i. xvii. p. 540—546. Arrian. l. iii. p. 133—137. Plutarch. in Alex. p. 689. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 8.—14. Juſtin. l. xi. 15.

" certainly have merited a recompence from the gods; and I " do not doubt but they will prove beneficent towards you, " in case that power is denied me. With such soldiers and " officers I would brave, without the least dread, the enemy, " how formidable soever he may be. What! would any one " have me surrender myself up to the mercy of the conqueror, " and expect from him, as a reward of my baseness and mean- " ness of spirit, the government of some province which he " may condescend to leave me? No—It never shall be in the " power of any man, either to take away, or fix upon my " head the diadem I wear; the same hour shall put a period " to my reign and life. If you have all the same courage " and resolution, which I can no ways doubt, I assure myself " that you shall retain your liberty, and not be exposed to " the pride and insults of the Macedonians. You have in your " hands the means either to revenge or terminate all your " evils." Having ended this speech, the whole body of soldiers replied with shouts, that they were ready to follow him whithersoever he should go, and would shed the last drop of their blood in his defence.

Such was the resolution of the soldiery; but Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes, and that was, to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him in chains; which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of soldiers under his command. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves, by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in case they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them, that they were going to their destruction; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire, which was just ready to fall; at the same time that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. Though these practices were carried on very secretly, they came however to the ear of Darius, who could not believe them. Patron,

who commanded the Greeks, entreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to truſt the guard of his perſon to men on whoſe fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himſelf to put ſo great an affront upon the Perſians; and therefore made this anſwer: "That it would be "a leſs affliction to him to be deceived by, than to condemn "them. That he would ſuffer the worſt of evils amidſt thoſe "of his own nation, rather than ſeek for ſecurity among ſtran-"gers, how faithful and affectionate ſoever he might believe "them: And that he could not but die too late, in caſe the "Perſian ſoldiers thought him unworthy of life." It was not long before Darius experienced the truth of this counſel; for the traitors ſeized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, as he was a king, and then laying him in a covered chariot, they ſet out towards Bactriana.

Alexander being arrived at Ecbatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treaſures of Perſia in the caſtle of Ecbatana, under a ſtrong guard which he left there. According to [y] Strabo, theſe treaſures amounted to one hundred and eighty thouſand talents, about twenty-ſeven millions Sterling; and, according to [z] Juſtin, to ten talents more, about fifteen hundred thouſand pounds Sterling. He ordered him to march afterwards towards Hyrcania, by the country of the Caduſians, with the Thracians, the foreigners, and the reſt of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He ſent orders to Clitus, who ſtaid behind in Suſa, where he fell ſick, that as ſoon as he was arrived at Ecbatana, he ſhould take the forces which were left in that city, and come to him in Parthia.

Alexander, with the reſt of his army, purſued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at * Rhaga, which is a long day's journey from the Caſpian ſtraits; but Darius had already paſſed through them. Alexander now deſpairing to overtake him, what diſpatch ſoever he might make, ſtaid there five days to reſt his forces. He then marched againſt the Parthians, and that day pitched his camp near the Caſpian ſtraits, and paſſ-

[y] Strab. l. xv. p. 741. [z] Juſtin. l. xii. c. 1.

* This is the city mentioned in Tobit. iii. 7.

ed them the next. News was ſoon brought him that Darius had been ſeized by the traitors; that Beſſus had cauſed him to be drawn in a chariot, and had ſent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the ſurer of his perſon; that the whole army obeyed that wretch, Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who not having a ſoul baſe enough to conſent to ſo abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was a freſh motive for him to haſten his march. The Barbarians, at his arrival, were ſeized with dread, though the match would not have been equal, had Beſſus been as reſolute for fighting as for putting in execution the deteſtable act above mentioned; for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and ſtrength, and were all cool and ready for the combat; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigued with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander, a motive all-powerful in war, filled them with ſuch prodigious terror, that they all fled. Beſſus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, they requeſted him to mount his horſe, and fly from the enemy: But he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had ſuffered; and beſeeching Alexander to do him juſtice, he refuſed to follow a band of traitors. At theſe words they fell into ſuch a fury, that all threw their darts at him, and left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid crime, they ſeparated, in order to leave different footſteps of their flight, and thereby elude the purſuit of the enemy, in caſe he ſhould follow them; or at leaſt oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyrcania, and Beſſus that of Bactriana, both being followed by a very few horſemen; and as the Barbarians were by this means deſtitute of leaders, they diſperſed themſelves up and down, as fear or hope directed their ſteps.

After ſearching about in different places, Darius was at laſt found in a ſolitude, his body run through with ſpears, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had ſtrength enough before he died to call for drink, which a Ma-

cedonian, Polyſtratus by name, brought him. He had a Perſian priſoner, whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and ſaid, "That in the deplorable ſtate to "which he was reduced, he however ſhould have the com- "fort to ſpeak to one who could underſtand him, and that "his laſt words would not be loſt. He therefore charged "him to tell Alexander, that he died in his debt, though he "had never obliged him. That he gave him a multitude of "thanks for the great humanity he had exerciſed towards his "mother, his wife, and his children, whoſe lives he had not "only ſpared, but reſtored them to their former ſplendor. That "he beſought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make "him monarch of the univerſe. That he thought he need "not entreat him to revenge the execrable murder committed "on his perſon, as this was the common cauſe of kings."

After this, taking Polyſtratus by the hand, "Give him," ſaid he, "thy hand, as I give thee mine; and carry him, in "my name, the only pledge I am able to give of my grati- "tude and affection." Saying theſe words, he breathed his laſt. Alexander coming up a moment after, and ſeeing Darius's body, he wept bitterly; and, by the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of affection that could be given him, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappineſs of a prince who deſerved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body; then cauſing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he ſent it to Syſigambis, in order that it might be interred with the honours uſually paid to the deceaſed Perſian monarchs, and to be entombed with his anceſtors.

[a] Thus died Darius, the third year of the 112th Olympiad, at about fifty years of age, ſix of which he had reigned. He was a gentle and pacific prince; his reign having been unſullied with injuſtice or cruelty, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or to his not having had an opportunity of acting otherwiſe, from the perpetual war he had carried on againſt Alexander all the time he had ſat upon the throne. In

[a] A.M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

him the Perſian empire ended, after having exiſted two hundred and nine years, computing from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the Great, the founder of it, under thirteen kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyſes, Smerdis Magus, Darius ſon of Hyſtaſpis, Xerxes I. Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II. Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arſes, and Darius Codomanus.

SECTION XI.

Vices which firſt cauſed the DECLENSION, *and at laſt the* RUIN, *of the* PERSIAN EMPIRE.

THE death of Darius Codomanus may very juſtly be conſidered as the era, but not as the ſole cauſe, of the deſtruction of the Perſian monarchy. When we take a general view of the hiſtory of the kings above mentioned, and conſider with ſome attention their different characters and methods of governing whether in peace or war, we eaſily perceive that this declenſion was prepared at a great diſtance, and carried on to its end by viſible ſteps, which denoted a total ruin.

We may declare at firſt ſight, that the declenſion of the Perſian empire and its fall, are owing to its origin and primitive inſtitution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Perſians were a ſober, laborious, modeſt people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pride, luxury, ſoftneſs, and voluptuouſneſs. The example of frugality and ſimplicity which Cyrus had ſet them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain ſo many victories, and ſupport themſelves in the midſt of ſo many enemies, prevented thoſe vices from ſpreading for ſome time: But after thoſe notions had ſubjected all things, the fondneſs which the Medes had naturally for pleaſures and magnificence, ſoon leſſened the temperance of the Perſians, and became, in a little time, the prevailing taſte of the two nations.

Several other cauſes conſpired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated its victors with her poiſoned cup, and in-

chanted them with the charms of pleaſure. She furniſhed them with ſuch miniſters and inſtruments, as were adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cheriſh delights with art and delicacy: And the wealth of the richeſt provinces in the world being at the entire diſpoſal of new ſovereigns, they thereby were enabled to ſatiate their deſires.

Even Cyrus himſelf, as I obſerved elſewhere, contributed to this, without perceiving the conſequence of it; and prepared men's minds by the ſplendid banquet he gave, after having ended his conqueſts; and when he ſhewed himſelf in the midſt of his troops, who had ſhared in his victories, with ſuch a pomp and oſtentation as were moſt capable of dazzling the eye. He began by inſpiring them with an admiration for pomp and ſhew, which they had hitherto deſpiſed. He ſuggeſted to them, that magnificencè and riches were worthy of crowning the moſt glorious exploits, and the end and fruit of them: And by thus inſpiring his ſubjects with a ſtrong deſire for things they ſaw ſo highly eſteemed by a moſt accompliſhed prince, his example authoriſed them to abandon themſelves to that guſt without reſerve.

He alſo ſpread this evil, by his obliging judges, officers, and governors of provinces, to appear in ſplendor before the people, the better to repreſent the majeſty of the prince. On one ſide, theſe magiſtrates and commanders eaſily miſtook theſe ornaments and trappings of their employments for the moſt eſſential parts of them, endeavouring to diſtinguiſh themſelves by nothing but this glittering outſide: And, on the other ſide, men of the greateſt wealth in the provinces propoſed them as ſo many patterns for their imitation, and were ſoon followed by perſons of moderate fortune, whom thoſe in the loweſt ſtations of life endeavoured to equal.

So many cauſes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authoriſed publicly, ſoon deſtroyed the ancient virtue of the Perſians. They did not ſink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreſeen, and often oppoſed. Scarce was Cyrus dead but there roſe up as it were another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Men no longer diſcourſed of that manly, that ſevere

education which was beſtowed on the Perſian youth; of thoſe public ſchools of ſobriety, patience, and emulation for virtue, nor of thoſe laborious and warlike exerciſes; of all theſe there did not remain the ſmalleſt traces: Their young men being brought up in ſplendor and effeminacy, which they now ſaw was had in honour, immediately began to deſpiſe the happly ſimplicity of their forefathers, and formed, in the ſpace of one generation, an entire new ſet of people, whoſe manners, inclinations, and maxims, were directly oppoſite to thoſe of ancient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties; and acquired this peculiar character, that they, of all people, were the moſt abandoned to ſplendor, luxury, feaſting, and even to drunkenneſs: So that they may affirm, that the empire of the Perſians was, almoſt at its birth, what other empires grew up to through length of time only, and began where others end. It bore the principle of its deſtruction in its own boſom, and this internal vice increaſed every reign.

After the unſucceſsful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes againſt Scythia and Greece, the princes their ſucceſſors became inſenſible to the ambition of making conqueſts, and gave themſelves up a prey to idleneſs and effeminacy: They grew careleſs of military diſcipline, and ſubſtituted in the place of regular ſoldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confuſed multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their reſpective countries. The reader may have obſerved, on more than one occaſion, that the whole ſtrength, and almoſt the only reſource of the Perſian army, lay in the Greeks in their ſervice; that they properly depended on them only, and always took great care to oppoſe them to the beſt troops of the enemy: They were the only ſoldiers in Darius's army who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the laſt; and we have ſeen that Memnon the Rhodian was the ſole great general who fought againſt Alexander.

Inſtead of chooſing for the command of their forces officers of ſkill and experience, they uſed to appoint perſons of the greateſt quality of every nation, who frequently had no other

merit than their exalted birth, their riches and credit; and who were diſtinguiſhed by nothing but the ſumptuouſneſs of their feaſts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever ſurrounded, of guards, domeſtics, eunuchs, and women; ſuch an aſſemblage, formed merely for vain ſhew and oſtentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, incumbered an army, already but too numerous, with uſeleſs ſoldiers, made it ſlow in marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of ſubſiſting long in a country, and of completing great enterpriſes, in ſight of an enemy.

The Perſian monarchs ſhutting themſelves up in their palaces, in order to abandon themſelves to pleaſures, and appearing ſeldom abroad, placed their whole confidence, and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, to women, to ſlaves, and to flattering courtiers, whoſe ſole thoughts and endeavours were to baniſh true merit, which was offenſive to them; to give the rewards appointed for ſervices to their own creatures; and to intruſt the greateſt employments of the ſtate to perſons devoted to their intereſted and ambitious views, rather than to ſuch whoſe abilities rendered them capable of ſerving their country.

Another character of theſe princes, which is but too frequent in that high ſphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accuſtomed from their infancy to have their ears ſoothed with falſe praiſes, and the moſt extravagant compliments, and to have a blind ſubmiſſion paid to their will. They were educated in ſo exalted an idea of their own grandeur, as perſuaded them that the reſt of men were formed merely to ſerve them, and adminiſter to their pleaſures. They were not taught their duties, nor the maxims of a wiſe and good government; the principles by which men judge of ſolid merit, and are capable of chooſing perſons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raiſed to ſovereign power merely to protect their ſubjects, and make them happy. They were not made ſenſible of the exquiſite pleaſure that monarch feels, who is the delight of his ſubjects, and

the public ſource of the felicity of ſo vaſt an empire, as Cyrus the Great had been, who was ſo dear to his people, that every individual family conſidered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a public calamity. So far from this, a monarch's grandeur was declared to conſiſt in making himſelf feared, and in his being able to gratify all his paſſions with impunity.

So ill-judged an education muſt neceſſarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to ſuſtain the weight of ſo mighty an empire, nor to graſp the ſeveral parts of ſo extenſive and painful an adminiſtration. Idleneſs, and a love for pleaſure, made them careleſs, and averſe to buſineſs of every kind; and they ſacrificed matters of the higheſt importance to their vain amuſements. Some of them were born with ſuch happy diſpoſitions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life; and abandoned themſelves to the allurements of a too deſpotic power, and an over-great proſperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of liſtening, in their councils, to any expreſſion delivered with freedom, or of ſuffering the leaſt oppoſition to their wills.

It is no wonder they were not beloved by their ſubjects, ſince their whole ſtudy was to aggrandize themſelves, and to ſacrifice all conſiderations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortunes, was abandoned by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domeſtics, and ſubjects; and did not find any where a ſincere affection, nor a real attachment to his perſon and intereſt. The dazzling ſplendor of the Perſian monarchy concealed a real weakneſs; and this unwieldy power, heightened by ſo much pomp and pride, was abhorred by the people; ſo that this coloſſus, at the very firſt blow, fell to the ground.

SECTION XII.

LACEDAEMONIA revolts from the MACEDONIANS. ANTIPATER defeats AGIS. ALEXANDER marches againſt BESSUS.

WHILST things paſſed in Aſia as we have ſeen [b], ſome tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had ſent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that ſide; the Lacedaemonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almoſt all Peloponneſus in their deſign. Upon this news, Antipater, after having ſettled to the beſt of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmoſt expedition into Greece, whence he immediately diſpatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of theſe ſeveral tranſactions. As ſoon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he reſolved to venture a battle. The Lacedaemonian army conſiſted of no more than twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, under the command of Agis their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the ſuperiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow ſpot of ground. The battle began with great vigour, each party endeavouring to ſignalize themſelves in an extraordinary manner, for the honour of their reſpective countries; the one fired with the remembrance of their priſtine glory, and the other animated by their preſent greatneſs, fought with equal courage; the Lacedaemonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the ſpot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains; after which, extending his whole army, he gained a ſuperiority, and made a proper uſe of his advantage. Agis was diſtinguiſhed by his ſuite of armour, his noble mien, and ſtill more ſo by his valour. The battle was hotteſt round his perſon, and he himſelf performed the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of bravery. At laſt, after having been wounded in ſeveral parts of his body, his ſoldiers laying

[b] A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329. Diod. l. xvii. p. 537. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 1.

him upon his ſhield, carried him off. However, this did not damp their courage; for, having ſeized an advantageous poſt, where they kept cloſe in their ranks, they reſiſted with great vigour the attacks of the enemy. After having withſtood them a long time, the Lacedaemonians began to give ground, being ſcarce able to hold their arms, which were all covered with ſweat; they afterwards retired very faſt, and at laſt ran quite away. The king, ſeeing himſelf cloſely purſued, ſtill made ſome efforts, notwithſtanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppoſe the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the laſt, oppreſſed by numbers, he died ſword in hand.

In this engagement, upwards of three thouſand Lacedaemonians loſt their lives, and a thouſand Macedonians at moſt; but very few of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but alſo the hopes of thoſe who only waited the iſſue of this war, to declare themſelves. Antipater immediately ſent the news of this ſucceſs to Alexander; but, like an experienced courtier, he drew up the account of it in the moſt modeſt and circumſpect terms; in ſuch as were beſt adapted to diminiſh the luſtre of a victory which might expoſe him to envy. He was ſenſible, that Alexander's delicacy with regard to honour, was ſo very great, that he looked upon the glory which another perſon obtained, as a diminution of his own. And, † indeed, he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let drop ſome words which diſcovered his jealouſy. Antipater did not dare to diſpoſe of any thing by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedaemonians leave to ſend an embaſſy to the king, in order that they themſelves might tell him the ill ſucceſs they had met with. Alexander pardoned them, ſome of thoſe who had occaſioned the revolt excepted, and theſe he puniſhed.

[c] Darius's death did not hinder Alexander from purſuing Beſſus, who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had

[c] Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 2—4.

† Alexander hoſtes vinci voluerat; Antipatrum viciſſe ne tacitus quidem indignabatur, ſuae demptum gloriae exiſtimans quicquid ceſſiſſet alienae. Q. Curt.

aſſumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But, finding at laſt that it would be impoſſible for him to come up with him, he returned into Parthia; and reſting his troops ſome days in Hecatompylos, commanded proviſions of all ſorts to be brought thither.

During his ſtay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conqueſts he had achieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very inſtant the ſoldiers, as if a ſignal had been made for their ſetting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, load the waggons with the utmoſt diſpatch, and fill the whole camp with noiſe and tumult. Alexander was ſoon informed of this, when, terrified at the diſorder, he ſummoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midſt of ſo glorious a career, he was ſtopped on a ſudden, and forced to return back into his own country, rather like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror. The officers comforted him, by repreſenting, that this ſudden motion was a mere ſally, and a tranſient guſt of paſſion, which would not be attended with any ill conſequences; and aſſured him, that the ſoldiers, to a man, would obey him, provided he would addreſs himſelf to them in tender expreſſions. He promiſed to do it. The circumſtance which had given occaſion to this falſe report, was, his having diſbanded ſome Grecian ſoldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful manner; ſo that the Macedonians imagined they alſo were to fight no more.

Alexander having ſummoned the army made the following ſpeech. "I am not ſurpriſed, O ſoldiers, if, after the mighty "things we have hitherto performed, you ſhould be ſatiated "with glory, and have no other views but eaſe and repoſe. I "will not now enumerate the various nations we have con-"quered. We have ſubdued more provinces than others have "cities. Could I perſuade myſelf, that our conqueſts were "well ſecured, over nations who were ſo ſoon overcome, I "would think as you do, for I will not diſſemble my thoughts, "and would make all the haſte imaginable to reviſit my houſe-

" hold gods, my mother, my ſiſters, and my ſubjects, and en-
" joy in the midſt of my country the glory I have acquired in
" concert with you. But this glory will all vaniſh very ſoon,
" if we do not put the laſt hand to the work. Do you ima-
" gine, that ſo many nations, accuſtomed to other ſovereigns,
" and who have no manner of ſimilitude to us either in their
" religion, manners, or language, were entirely ſubdued the
" moment they were conquered; and that they will not take
" up arms, in caſe we return back with ſo much precipitation?
" What will become of the reſt who ſtill remain unconquered?
" How! ſhall we leave our victory imperfect, merely for want
" of courage! But that which touches me much more; ſhall we
" ſuffer the deteſtable crime of Beſſus to go unpuniſhed? Can
" you bear to ſee the ſceptre of Darius in the ſanguinary hands
" of that monſter, who, after having loaded him with chains,
" as a captive, at laſt aſſaſſinated his ſovereign, in order to de-
" prive us of the glory of ſaving him? As for myſelf, I ſhall
" not be eaſy till I ſee that infamous wretch hanging on a gib-
" bet, there to pay, to all kings and nations of the earth, the
" juſt puniſhment due to his execrable crime. I do not know
" whether I am miſtaken; but methinks I read his ſentence
" of death in your countenances; and that the anger which
" ſparkles in your eyes, declares you will ſoon imbrue your
" hands in that traitor's blood."

The ſoldiers would not ſuffer Alexander to proceed; but clapping their hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the ſpeeches of this prince generally produced this effect. In how deſponding a condition ſoever they might be, one ſingle word from him revived their courage in an inſtant, and inſpired them with that martial alacrity and ardour, which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable diſpoſition of the whole army, croſſed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which ſubmitted to his arms. He afterwards ſubdued the Mardi, the Arii, the Derangae, the Archoſii, and ſeveral other nations, into which his army marched, with greater ſpeed than people generally travel. He frequently

would purſue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almoſt without ſuffering his troops to take any reſt. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great diſtance, and ſubdued them before they had time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Under this image Daniel the prophet ſhadowed Alexander many ages before his birth, by repreſenting him as a panther, a leopard, and a goat, who ruſhed forward with ſo much ſwiftneſs, that his feet ſeemed not to touch the ground.

[d] Nabarzanes, one of Beſſus's accomplices, who had written before to Alexander, came and ſurrendered himſelf, upon promiſe of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania; and, among other preſents, brought him Bagoas the eunuch, who afterwards gained as great an aſcendant over Alexander as before over Darius.

At the ſame time arrived Thaleſtris queen of the Amazons. A violent deſire of ſeeing Alexander had prompted that princeſs to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curioſity. Being come pretty near his camp, ſhe ſent word that a queen was come to viſit him, and that ſhe had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little diſtance from that place. Alexander having returned her a favourable anſwer, ſhe commanded her train to ſtop, and herſelf came forward with three hundreed women; and the moment ſhe perceived the king, ſhe leaped from her horſe, having two lances in her right hand. The dreſs the Amazons uſed to wear, did not quite cover the body; for their boſom being uncovered on the left ſide, every other part of their body was hid; their gowns being tucked up with a knot, and ſo deſcended no farther than their knee. They preſerved their right breaſt to ſuckle their female offspring, but uſed to burn their left, that they might be the better enabled to bend the bow and throw the dart, whence they were called † Amazons.

Thaleſtris ‡ looked upon the king without diſcovering the

d Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 5.

† This is a Greek word, ſignifying, without breaſts.

‡ Interrito vultu regem Thaleſtris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam re-

leaſt ſign of admiration; and, ſurveying him attentively, did not think his ſtature anſwerable to his fame; for the Barbarians are very much ſtruck with a majeſtic air, and think thoſe only capable of mighty achievements, on whom nature has beſtowed bodily advantages. She did not ſcruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have poſterity by him; adding, that ſhe was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this requeſt, was obliged to make ſome ſtay in this place; after which Thaleſtris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This ſtory, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by ſome very judicious authors as entirely fabulous.

[c] Alexander devoted himſelf afterwards wholly to his paſſions, changing into pride and debauch, the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been ſo greatly admired; virtues ſo very neceſſary in an exalted ſtation of life, and in the midſt of a ſeries of proſperities. He now was no longer the ſame man. Though he was invincible with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwiſe with reſpect to the charms of eaſe. The inſtant he enjoyed a little repoſe, he abandoned himſelf to ſenſuality; and he, whom the arms of the Perſians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be ſeen but games, parties of pleaſure, women, and exceſſive feaſting, in which he uſed to revel whole days and nights. Not ſatisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on inſtrumental muſic, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to ſing ſongs after the manner of their country. He happened, among theſe women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the reſt, and who, by a modeſt, and at the ſame time a noble confuſion, diſcovered a greater reluctance than the others, to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her baſhfulneſs, whilſt ſhe threw her eyes to the ground, and did

[c] Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 6.

rum famae parem oculis perluſtrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majeſtate veneratio eſt; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia ſpecie donare natura dignata eſt. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 5.

all in her power to conceal her face. The king ſoon imagined by her air and mien that ſhe was not of vulgar birth; and inquiring himſelf into it, the lady anſwered, that ſhe was granddaughter to Ochus, who not long before had ſwayed the Perſian ſceptre, and daughter of his ſon; that ſhe had married Hyſtaſpes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compaſſion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princeſs of the blood royal, and the ſad condition to which ſhe was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her poſſeſſions; and cauſed her huſband to be ſought for, in order that ſhe might be reſtored to him.

This prince was naturally of ſo tender and humane a diſpoſition, as made him ſenſible of the affliction of perſons in the loweſt condition. [f] A poor Macedonian was one day leading before him, a mule, laden with gold for the king's uſe; the beaſt being ſo tired that he was not able either to go on or ſuſtain the load, the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a conſiderable way. Alexander, ſeeing him juſt ſinking under his burden, and going to throw it on the ground, in order to eaſe himſelf, cried out, "Friend, do "not be weary yet; try and carry it quite through to thy "tent, for it is all thy own."

[g] Alexander, in a very difficult march through barren places, at the head of a ſmall body of horſe, when he purſued Darius, met ſome Macedonians who were carrying water in goat-ſkins upon mules. Theſe Macedonians perceiving their prince was almoſt parched with thirſt, occaſioned by the raging heat, the ſun being then at the meridian, immediately filled a helmet with water, and were running to preſent him with it: Alexander aſking to whom they were carrying all that water, they replied, "We were going to carry it to our children; but do "not let your majeſty be uneaſy, for if your life is but ſaved, "we ſhall get children enough, in caſe we ſhould loſe theſe." At theſe words Alexander takes the helmet, and looking quite round him, he ſaw all his horſemen hanging down their heads, and with eyes fixed earneſtly on the liquor he held, ſwallow

[f] Plut. in Alex. p. 687. [g] Ibid.

it, as it were, with their glances; upon which he returned it, with thanks, to thoſe who offered it him, and did not drink ſo much as a ſingle drop, but cried, "There is not enough for "my whole company; and ſhould I drink alone, it would "make the reſt be thirſtier, and they would quite die away." The officers, who were on horſeback round him, ſtruck in the moſt ſenſible manner with his wonderful temperance and magnanimity, intreated him, with ſhouts, to carry them wherever he thought fit, and not ſpare them in any manner; that now they were not in the leaſt tired, nor felt the leaſt thirſt; and that as long as they ſhould be commanded by ſuch a king, they could not think themſelves mortal men.

Such ſentiments as theſe, which ariſe from a generous and tender diſpoſition, reflect a greater honour on a prince than the greateſt victories and conqueſts. Had Alexander always cheriſhed them, he would juſtly have merited the title of Great; but a too glorious and uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity, which is too heavy for mortals to ſuſtain, inſenſibly effaced them from his mind, and made him forget that he was man: For now, contemning the cuſtoms of his own country, as no longer worthy the ſovereign of the univerſe, he laid aſide the dreſs, the manners, and way of life of the Macedonian monarchs; looking upon them as too plain and ſimple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went ſo far as to imitate the pomp of the Perſian kings, in that very circumſtance in which they ſeemed to equal themſelves to the gods; I mean, by requiring thoſe who had conquered nations to fall proſtrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which became only ſlaves. He had turned his palace into a ſeraglio, filling it with three hundred and ſixty concubines, the ſame number as Darius kept, and with bands of eunuchs, of all mankind the moſt infamous. Not ſatisfied with wearing a Perſian robe himſelf, he alſo obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on the ſame dreſs, which gave them the greateſt mortification, not one of them however daring to ſpeak againſt this innovation, or contradict the prince in any manner.

The veteran ſoldiers, who had fought under Philip, not

having the leaſt idea of ſenſuality, inveighed publicly againſt this prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learned in Suſa and Ecbatana. The ſoldiers would frequently expreſs themſelves in the following terms: "That they had "loſt more by victory than they had gained: That as the "Macedonians had thus aſſumed the manners and cuſtoms of "foreigners, they might properly be ſaid to be conquered. "That therefore the only benefit they ſhould reap from their "long abſence, would be, to return back into their country "in the habit of Barbarians; that Alexander was aſhamed of, "and deſpiſed them; that he choſe to reſemble the vanquiſh-"ed rather than the victorious; and that he, who before had "been king of Macedonia, was now become one of Darius's "lieutenants."

The king was not ignorant of the diſcontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the eſteem and friendſhip of both by his beneficence: But * ſlavery, though purchaſed at ever ſo high a rate, muſt neceſſarily be odious to freeborn men. He therefore thought, that the ſafeſt remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpoſe led them againſt Beſſus. But as the army was encumbered with booty and an uſeleſs train of baggage, that it could ſcarce move, he firſt cauſed all his own baggage, to be carried into a great ſquare, and afterwards that of his army, ſuch things excepted as were abſolutely neceſſary; then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but after he had ſent away the horſes, he himſelf ſet fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burned the rich ſpoils they had purchaſed with their blood, and often forced out of the midſt of the flames. Such a ſacrifice muſt certainly have been made with the utmoſt reluctance; but the example the king ſent them ſilenced all their complaints, and they ſeemed leſs affected at the loſs of their baggage, than at their neglect of military diſcipline. A ſhort ſpeech the king made, ſoothed all their uneaſineſs; and, being

* Sed, ut opinor, liberis pretium ſervitutis ingratum eſt. Q. Curt.

now more able to exert themſelves hereafter, they ſet out with joy, and marched towards Bactriana. In this march they met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one but Alexander; but nothing could daunt his ſoul, or check his progreſs; for he put the ſtrongeſt confidence in his good fortune, which indeed never forſook that hero, but extricated him from a thouſand perils, wherein one would have naturally ſuppoſed both himſelf and his army muſt have periſhed.

[h] Being arrived among the Drangae, a danger to which he had not been accuſtomed, gave him very great uneaſineſs; and this was, the report of a conſpiracy that was formed againſt his perſon. One Dymnus, a man of no great figure at court, was the contriver of this treaſon; and the motive of it was, ſome private diſguſt which he had received. He had communicated his execrable deſign to a young man, Nicomachus by name, who revealed it to Cebalinus, his brother. The latter immediately whiſpered it to Philotas, earneſtly intreating him to acquaint the king with it, becauſe every moment was of the utmoſt conſequence; and that the conſpirators were to execute the horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and diſcourſed on a great variety of ſubjects, but without taking the leaſt notice of the plot. In the evening Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out, and aſking whether he had done as requeſted, he anſwered, that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majeſty, and went away. The next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotas replied, that he would be ſure not to forget it; and however did not perform his promiſe. This made Cebalinus ſuſpect him; and fearing, that in caſe the conſpiracy ſhould be diſcovered by any other perſon, his ſilence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore got another perſon to diſcloſe it to Alexander. The prince having heard the whole from Cebalinus himſelf, and told how many times he had conjured Philotas to acquaint him with it, firſt commanded Dym-

[h] Diod. l. xvii. p. 550, 551. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 7, 11, et l. vii. c. 1. 2. Arrian. l. iii. p. 141, 142. Plut. in Alex. p. 692, 693.

nus to be brought before him. The latter gueſſing upon what account he was ſent for by the king, ran himſelf through with his ſword; but the guards having prevented this wretch from completing the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king aſked him, why he thought Philotas more worthy than he was of the kingdom of Macedon? But he was quite ſpeechleſs; ſo that, after fetching a deep ſigh, he turned his head aſide, and breathed his laſt.

The king afterwards ſent for Philotas; and ſpeaking to him, having firſt commanded every one to withdraw, he aſked whether Cebalinus had really urged him ſeveral times to tell him of a plot which was carrying on againſt him. Philotas, without diſcovering the leaſt confuſion in his countenance, confeſſed ingenuouſly that he had; but made his apology by ſaying, that the perſon who had whiſpered this, did not appear to him worthy of the leaſt credit. He confeſſed, however, that Dymnus's death plainly ſhewed he had acted very imprudently, in concealing ſo long a deſign of ſo black a nature. Upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet; which he embraced, and beſought him to conſider his paſt life, rather than the fault he had now committed, which did not proceed from any bad deſign, but from the fear he was under of alarming, very unſeaſonably, the king, ſhould he communicate a deſign, which he really ſupooſed was without foundation. It is no eaſy matter to ſay, whether Alexander believed what Philotas ſaid, or only diſſembled his anger. But however this be, he gave him his hand, in token of reconciliation; and told him, that he was perſuaded he had deſpiſed, rather than concealed the affair.

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers; and indeed it was hardly poſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, becauſe none of them was more familiar with the king, or more eſteemed by him. Inſtead of ſoftening and moderating the luſtre of the diſtinguiſhed favour he enjoyed, by an air of ſweetneſs and humanity; he ſeemed, on the contrary, to endeavour nothing ſo much as to excite the envy of others, by affecting a ſilly pride, which generally diſplayed itſelf in his

dreſs, his retinue, his equipage, and his table; and ſtill more ſo, by the haughty airs he aſſumed, which made him univerſally hated. Parmenio, his father, diſguſted at his lofty behaviour, ſaid one day to him *, "My ſon, make thyſelf leſs." The ſtrongeſt ſenſe is couched under theſe words; and it is evident, that the man who uttered them was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He uſed often to give Philotas advice to this effect; but too exalted a proſperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind; and they cannot perſuade themſelves, that favour, which is eſtabliſhed on ſo ſeemingly ſolid a foundation, can ever change; the contrary of which Philotas found to his ſorrow.

[i] His former conduct, with regard to Alexander, had given the latter juſt reaſon to complain of him; for he uſed to take the liberty to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the king, and applaud himſelf in the moſt haughty terms. Opening one day his heart to a woman, Antigonia by name, with whom he was in love, he began to boaſt, in a very inſolent manner, his father's ſervices and his own: "What would Philip," ſaid he, "have "been, had it not been for Parmenio? And what would A-"lexander be, were it not for Philotas? What would become "of his pretended divinity, and his father Ammon, ſhould "we undertake to expoſe this fiction?" All theſe things were repeated to Alexander, and Antigonia herſelf made oath, that ſuch words had been ſpoken. The king had nevertheleſs taken no notice of all this, nor ſo much as once let drop the leaſt word which ſhewed his reſentment upon that occaſion, whenever he was moſt intoxicated with liquor; he had not ſo much as hinted it to his friends, nor even to Hephaeſtion, from whom he ſcarce concealed any thing. But the crime Philotas was now accuſed of, recalled to his memory the diſguſt he had formerly entertained.

Immediately after the converſation he had with Philotas, he held a council compoſed of his chief confidents. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great eſteem, and who envied Philotas the more upon that very account, looked upon this as a

i Plut de fortun. Alex. c. 2. p. 339.

* Ω παῖ, χειρων μὴ γινε.

very happy occaſion for ſupplanting his arrival. Concealing therefore his hatred, under a ſpecious pretence of zeal, he ſuggeſted to the king, "the apprehenſions he might juſtly "be under, both from Philotas himſelf, becauſe mercy is not "apt to work any change in a heart, which could be corrupt "enough to entertain ſo deteſtable a crime, and from Parmenio, his father, who, ſaid he, will never be able to bear the "thoughts of his owing his ſon's life to the king's clemency. "Some beneficial acts are ſo great, that they become a burden "to thoſe on whom they are conferred; for which reaſon "they do all in their power to eraſe them from their memory. And further, who can aſſure us, that both father and "ſon are not engaged in the conſpiracy! When a prince's "life is in danger, every thing is of importance; and all "things, even to the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, are ſo many proofs. "Can we conceive it poſſible, that a favourite, on whom his "ſovereign has beſtowed the moſt ſhining marks of his beneficence, ſhould be calm and undiſturbed, upon his being "told an affair of ſuch mighty importance? But we are told, "that this deſign was communicated by young people, who "deſerved very little credit. Wherefore then did he keep "them in ſuſpenſe two days, as if he really believed what "they told him, and ſtill promiſed them that he would reveal the whole affair to the king? Who does not ſee, that "he did this merely to prevent their having acceſs by another "way to his majeſty? Sir," continued he, "it is neceſſary, "for your own ſake and that of the ſtate, for us to put Philotas to the torture; in order to force from his own mouth "an account of this plot, and the ſeveral perſons who are his "accomplices in it." This being the opinion of all the members of the council, the king came into it. He then diſmiſſed the aſſembly, having firſt enjoined them ſecrecy; and the better to conceal his reſolution, gave orders for the army's marching the next day, and even invited Philotas to ſupper with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been poſted in the ſeveral places neceſſary, ſome en-

tered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep ſleep; when, ſtarting from his ſlumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, "Alas! my ſovereign, the "inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your good-"neſs." After this, they covered his face, and brought him to the palace without uttering a ſingle word. The next morning the Macedonians, according to an order publiſhed for that purpoſe, came thither under arms, being about ſix thouſand. It was a very ancient cuſtom for the army, in war time, to take cognizance of capital crimes; and, in times of peace, for the people to do ſo; ſo that the prince had no power on theſe occaſions, unleſs a ſanction were given to it by the conſent of one of theſe bodies; and the king was forced to have recourſe to perſuaſion *, before he employed his authority.

Firſt, the body of Dymnus was brought out; very few then preſent knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king came into the aſſembly; an air of ſorrow appearing in his countenance, as well as in his whole court, every one waited with impatience the iſſue of this gloomy ſcene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes caſt on the ground; but at laſt, having recovered his ſpirits, he made the following ſpeech: "I narrowly eſcaped, "O ſoldiers, being torn from you, by the treachery of a "ſmall number of wretches; but by the providence and "mercy of the gods, I now again appear before you alive: "And I proteſt to you, that nothing encourages me more to "proceed againſt the traitors, than the ſight of this aſſembly, "whoſe lives are much dearer to me than my own; for I de-"ſire to live for your ſakes only; and the greateſt happineſs "I ſhould find in living, not to ſay the only one, would be "the pleaſure I ſhall receive, in having it once in my power "to reward the ſervices of ſo many brave men, to whom I "owe all things." Here he was interrupted by the cries and groans of the ſoldiers, who all burſt into tears. "Alas! how "will you behave, when I ſhall name the perſons who formed

* Nihil poteſtas regum valebat, niſi prius valuiſſet auctoritas. Q. Curt.

" ſo execrable an attempt? I myſelf cannot think of it with-
" out ſhuddering. They, on whom I have been moſt laviſh
" of my kindneſſes; on whom I had beſtowed the greateſt
" marks of friendſhip; in whom I had put my whole confi-
" dence, and in whoſe breaſts I lodged my greateſt ſecrets—
" Parmenio and Philotas." At theſe names all the ſoldiers gazed one upon the other, not daring to believe their eyes or ears, nor any thing they ſaw or heard. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus, were ſent for, who made the ſeveral depoſitions of what they knew. But as not one of them charged Philotas with engaging in the plot, the whole aſſembly, being ſeized with a trouble and confuſion eaſier conceived than expreſſed, continued in a ſad and gloomy ſilence.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarſe worn-out piece of cloth. How ſhocking a ſight was this! Loſt to himſelf, he did not dare to look up, or open his lips; but the tears ſtreaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the ſtanders-by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his ſpeech and his voice by inſenſible degrees, he ſeemed deſirous of ſpeaking. The king then told him, that he ſhould be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew. Philotas might have juſtified himſelf very eaſily; for not one of the witneſſes, and thoſe who had been put on the rack, had accuſed him of being an accomplice in the plot. Dymnus, who firſt formed it, had not named him to any of the conſpirators; and had Philotas been concerned in it, and the ringleader, as was pretended, Dymnus would certainly have named him, at the head of all the reſt, in order to engage them the more ſtrongly. Had Philotas been conſcious to himſelf of guilt in this particular, as he was ſenſible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, fought earneſtly to acquaint the king of it, is it any ways probable, that he could have lain quiet two days together, without once endeavouring, either to diſpatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark deſign in execution? which he might very eaſily have done. Philotas ſet theſe proofs, and a great many more, in the

ſtrongeſt light; and did not omit to mention the reaſons which had made him deſpiſe the information that had been given him, as groundleſs and imaginary. Then directing, on a ſudden, himſelf to Alexander, as if he had been preſent, "O king," ſays he, "whereſoever you may be," for it is thought Alexander heard all that paſſed from behind a curtain, "if I have committed a fault in not acquainting you "with what I heard, I confeſſed it to you, and you pardoned "me. You gave me your royal hand as a pledge of this; "and you did me the honour to admit me of your table. If "you believed me, I am innocent; if you pardoned me, I am "cleared: I refer all this to your own judgment. What new "crime have I committed ſince? I was in a deep ſleep when "my enemies waked me, and loaded me with chains. Is it "natural for a man, who is conſcious that he is guilty of the "moſt horrid of all crimes, to be thus eaſy and undiſturbed? "The innocence of my own conſcience, and the promiſe your "majeſty made me, gave my ſoul this calm. Do not let the "envy of my enemies prevail over your clemency and juſtice."

The reſult of this aſſembly was, that Philotas ſhould be put on the rack. The perſons who preſided on that occaſion were his moſt inveterate enemies, and they made him ſuffer every kind of torture. Philotas at firſt diſcovered the utmoſt reſolution and ſtrength of mind; the torments he ſuffered not being able to force from him a ſingle word, nor even ſo much as a ſigh. But at laſt, conquered by pain, he confeſſed himſelf to be guilty, named ſeveral accomplices, and even accuſed his own father. The next day, the anſwers of Philotas were read in full aſſembly, he himſelf being preſent. Upon the whole, he was unanimouſly ſentenced to die; immediately after which he was ſtoned, according to the cuſtom of Macedonia, with ſome other of the conſpirators.

They alſo judged at the ſame time, and put to death, Lynceſtes Alexander, who had been found guilty of conſpiring the death of the king, and kept three years in priſon.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio. Whether it were that Alexander really believed him guil-

ty, or was afraid of the father now he had put the ſon to death. Polydamus, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to ſee the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's moſt intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who affect only their own fortunes. This was the very reaſon of his being nominated, becauſe no one could ſuſpect that he was ſent with any ſuch orders againſt Parmenio. He therefore ſet out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was intruſted with the king's treaſures, which amounted to an hundred and fourſcore thouſand talents, about twenty-ſeven millions Sterling. Alexander had given him ſeveral letters for Cleander the king's lieutenant in the province; and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other ſealed with Philotas's ſeal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the leaſt ſuſpicions. Polydamus was but eleven days in his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions neceſſary, they went together, with a great number of attendants, to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus ſpied him, though at a great diſtance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmoſt joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the ſtrongeſt indications of friendſhip, had paſſed on both ſides, he gave him Alexander's letter. In the opening it, he aſked him what the king was doing; to which Polydamus replied, that he would know by his majeſty's letter. Parmenio, after peruſing it, ſaid as follows: "The king is preparing to march a-"gainſt the Arachoſii. How glorious a prince is this, who "will not ſuffer himſelf to take a moment's reſt? However, "he ought to be a little tender of himſelf, now he has acquir-"ed ſo much glory." He afterwards opened the letter which was written in Philotas's name; and, by his countenance, ſeemed pleaſed with the contents of it. At that very inſtant Cleander thruſt a dagger, into his ſide; then made another thruſt in his throat; and the reſt gave him ſeveral wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus this great man ended his life; a man illuſtrious both in peace and war; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never achieved any thing conſpicuous, but in concert with Parmenio. He was a perſon of great abilities and execution; was very dear to the grandees, and much more ſo to the officers and ſoldiers, who repoſed the higheſt confidence in him; and looked upon themſelves as aſſured of victory when he was at their head, ſo firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then threeſcore and ten years of age; and had always ſerved his ſovereign with inviolable fidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his ſon and himſelf having been put to death, merely on a ſlight ſuſpicion, uninforced with any real proof, which nevertheleſs obliterated in a moment all the great ſervices both had done their country.

[k] Alexander was ſenſible, that ſuch cruel executions might alienate the affections of the troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they ſent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order: concluding therefore that it would be proper for him to ſeparate, from the reſt of the army, ſuch ſoldiers as had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their murmurs and complaints, leſt their ſeditious diſcourſes ſhould ſpread the ſame ſpirit of diſcontent, he formed a ſeparate body of theſe, the command of which he gave to Leonidas; this kind of ignominy being the only puniſhment he inflicted on them. But they were ſo ſtrongly affected with it, that they endeavoured to wipe out the diſgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they obſerv-ſerved ever afterwards.

To prevent the ill conſequences that might ariſe from this ſecret diſcontent, Alexander ſet out upon his march, and continued to purſue Beſſus; on which occaſion he expoſed himſelf to great hardſhips and dangers. After having paſſed through Drangania, Arachoſia, and the country of Arimaſpi, where all things ſubmitted to his arms, he arrived at a mountain call-

k Arrian. l. iii. p. 143, 148. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xvii. p. 553, 554. A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329.

ed Paropamiſus, a part of Caucaſus, where his army underwent inexpreſſible fatigues, through wearineſs, thirſt, cold, and the ſnows, which killed a great number of his ſoldiers. Beſſus laid waſte all the country that lay between him and mount Caucaſus, in order that the want of proviſions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of purſuing him. He indeed ſuffered very much; but nothing could check his vigour. After making his army repoſe for ſome time at Drapſaca, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactra, the two ſtrongeſt cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about ſeven or eight thouſand Bactrians, who till then had adhered very firmly to Beſſus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his reſpective home. Beſſus, at the head of the ſmall number of forces who continued faithful to him, paſſed the river Oxus, burned all the boats he himſelf made uſe of, to prevent Alexander from croſſing it, and withdrew to Nautacus, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raiſe a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and not meeting with trees or timber ſufficient for the building of boats and rafts, or floats of timber, he ſupplied the want of theſe by diſtributing to his ſoldiers a great number of ſkins ſtuffed with ſtraw, and ſuch like dry and light materials; which laying under them in the water, they croſſed the river in this manner; thoſe who went over firſt, drawing up in battle-array, whilſt their commanders were coming after them. In this manner his whole army paſſed over in ſix days.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, Spitamenes, who was Beſſus's chief confident, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, in concert with two more of his principal officers. Having ſeized his perſon, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces the royal robe of Darius he had put on, and ſet him on horſeback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the Branchidae. Theſe were the deſcendants of a family who had dwelt

in Miletus, and Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly ſent into Upper Aſia, where he had ſettled them in a very flouriſhing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treaſure of the temple called Didymaon, with which they had been intruſted. Theſe received the king with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy, and ſurrendered both themſelves and their city to him. Alexander ſent for ſuch Mileſians as were in his army, who preſerved a hereditary hatred againſt the Branchidae, becauſe of the treachery of their anceſtors. He then left them the choice either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in conſideration of their common extraction. The Mileſians being ſo much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themſelves, Alexander undertook the deciſion himſelf. Accordingly, the next day he commanded his phalanx to ſurround the city; and a ſignal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the ſword, which inhuman order was executed with the ſame barbarity it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murdered in the ſtreets and in their houſes; no manner of regard being had to their cries and tears, nor the leaſt diſtinction made of age or ſex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, in order that not the leaſt traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were theſe ill-fated citizens guilty? Were they reſponſible for thoſe their fathers had committed upwards of one hundred ane fifty years before? I do not know whether hiſtory furniſhes another example of ſo brutal and frantic a cruelty.

A little after, Beſſus was brought to Alexander, not only bound, but ſtark naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it was difficult to ſay, whether that object was more agreeable to the Barbarians or Macedonians. In preſenting him to the king, he ſaid theſe words: "I have, "at laſt, revenged both you and Darius, my kings and maſters. "I bring you a wretch who aſſaſſinated his ſovereign, and "who is now treated in the ſame manner as himſelf gave the

" firſt example of. Alas! why cannot Darius himſelf ſee this " ſpectacle!" Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Beſſus, and ſpoke thus: " Thou ſure- " ly muſt have been inſpired with the rage and fury of a tiger, " otherwiſe thou wouldſt not have dared to load a king from " whom thou hadſt received ſo many inſtances of favour, with " chains, and afterwards murder him! Begone from my ſight, " thou monſter of cruelty and perfidiouſneſs." The king ſaid no more; but ſending for Oxatres, Darius's brother, he gave Beſſus to him, in order that he might ſuffer all the ignominy he deſerved; ſuſpending however his execution, that he might be judged in the general aſſembly of the Perſians.

SECTION XIII.

ALEXANDER builds a CITY near the IAXARTHES. Defeats the SCYTHIANS. Takes the CITY of PETRA.

ALEXANDER [1], inſatiable of victory and conqueſts, ſtill marched forward in ſearch of new nations whom he might ſubdue. After recruiting his cavalry, which had ſuffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the † Iaxarthes.

Not far from this river, the Barbarians ruſhed ſuddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander's forces, and having carried off a great number of priſoners, they retired to their lurking holes, in which were twenty thouſand, who fought with bows and ſlings. The king went and beſieged them in perſon; and being one of the foremoſt in the attack, he was ſhot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron point ſtuck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not ſo ſecretly but the Barbarians knew of it; for they ſaw, from the top of the mountain, every thing that was doing below. The next day they ſent ambaſſadors to the king, who

[1] Arrian. l. iii. p. 148, 149, et l. iv. p. 150—160. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 6—11.

† Quintus Curtius and Arrian call it the Tanais; but they are miſtaken. The Tanais lies much more weſtward, and empties itſelf, not into the Caſpian ſea, but in the Pontus Euxinus, and is now called the Don.

ordered them to be immediately brought in; when, taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he ſhewed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. Theſe aſſured him, that as ſoon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could poſſibly be; and that had it been poſſible for them to find the perſon who had ſhot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander; that none but impious wretches would wage war againſt the gods: In a word, that being vanquiſhed by his unparalleled bravery, they ſurrendered themſelves to him, with the nations who followed them. The king, having engaged his faith to them, and taken back his priſoners, accepted of their homage.

After this he ſet out upon his march; and getting into a litter, a great diſpute aroſe between the horſe and foot who ſhould carry it, each of thoſe bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only: And there was no other way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they ſhould carry it in their turns.

From hence he got, the fourth day, to Maracanda, a very conſiderable city, and capital of Sogdiana, which he took; and, after leaving a conſiderable garriſon there, he burned and laid waſte all the plains.

There came an embaſſy to him from the † Abian Scythians, who from the death of Cyrus had lived free and independent: Theſe ſubmitted to Alexander. They were conſidered as the moſt equitable of all the Barbarians; never making war but to defend themſelves; and the liberty eſtabliſhed among them, and which they nowiſe abuſed, removed all diſtinction, and equalled the meaneſt among them with the greateſt. A love of poverty and juſtice was their peculiar characteriſtic, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alexander received them kindly, and ſent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian Boſphorus.

He had marked out a ſpot of ground, proper for building a city on the river Iaxarthes, in order to curb the nations he

† Abii Scythae.

had already conquered, and thoſe he intended to ſubdue. But this deſign was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was ſoon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander diſpatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Beſſus into his hands, believing him a very fit perſon to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himſelf had been chiefly inſtrumental in this inſurrection. The king, greatly ſurpriſed at this treachery, was determined to take vengeance of him in the moſt ſignal manner. He then marched to Cyropolis, and beſieged it. This was the laſt city of the Perſian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whoſe name it was called. At the ſame time he ſent Craterus, with two more of his general officers, to beſiege the city of the Memaceni, to whom fifty troopers were ſent, to deſire them to ſue for Alexander's clemency. Theſe met with a very kind reception at firſt; but in the night time they were all cut to pieces. Alexander had reſolved to ſpare Cyropolis, purely for the ſake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over theſe nations, there was none he admired more than this king and Semiramis, becauſe they had ſurpaſſed all the reſt in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the beſieged; but they were ſo blindly obſtinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and inſolence; upon which he ſtormed their city, abandoning the plunder of it to his ſoldiers, and razed it to the very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was beſieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander loſt his beſt ſoldiers before it, and was himſelf expoſed to very great danger; a ſtone ſtriking him with ſo much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his ſenſes. The whole army indeed thought him dead, which threw them into tears: But this prince, whom no danger or diſappointment could depreſs, puſhed on the ſiege with greater vigour than before, the inſtant he recovered, without ſtaying till his wound was healed, anger adding freſh fuel to his natural ardour. Having therefore cauſed the wall to be ſapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burned to the ground, and

put all the inhabitants to the ſword. Several other cities met with the ſame fate. This was a third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be quiet, though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They loſt above one hundred and twenty thouſand men in theſe different ſieges. The king afterwards ſent Menedemus with three thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had drove the Macedonian garriſon, and ſhut himſelf up there.

With regard to himſelf, he returned back and encamped on the Iaxarthes, where he furrounded with walls the whole ſpot of ground which his army had covered, and built a city on it, containing ſixty furlongs in circumference *, which he alſo called Alexandria; having before built ſeveral of that name. He cauſed the workmen to make ſuch diſpatch, that in leſs than twenty days the ramparts were raiſed, and the houſes built; and indeed there was a great emulation among the ſoldiers who ſhould get his work done ſooneſt, every one of them having had his portion allotted him: And, to people his new city, he ranſomed all the priſoners he could meet with, ſettled ſeveral Macedonians there who were worn out in the ſervice, and permitted many natives of the country, at their own requeſt, to inhabit it.

But the king of thoſe Scythians who live on the other ſide of the Iaxarthes, ſeeing that this city, built on the river, was a kind of yoke to them, they ſent a great body of ſoldiers to demoliſh it, and to drive the Macedonians to a greater diſtance. Alexander, who had no deſign of attacking the Scythians, finding them make ſeveral incurſions, even in his ſight, in a very inſolent manner, was very much perplexed; eſpecially when advice was brought him at the ſame time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Maracanda had been all, a very few excepted, cut to pieces. Such a number of obſtacles would have diſcouraged any one but an Alexander; for the Sogdians had taken up arms, and the Bactrians alſo; his army was haraſſed by the Scythians; he himſelf was brought ſo low, that he was not able to ſtand upright, to mount on horſeback, to ſpeak to his forces, or give a ſingle order. To increaſe

* Three leagues.

this affliction, he found his army no ways inclined to attempt the paſſage of the river in ſight of the enemy, who were drawn up in battle-array. The king continued in the utmoſt perplexity all night long; however, his courage ſurmounted all things. Being told that the auſpices were not propitious, he forced the ſoothſayers to ſubſtitute favourable ones in their ſtead. The day beginning to break, he put on his coat of mail, and ſhewed himſelf to the ſoldiers, who had not ſeen him ſince the laſt wound he had received. Theſe held their king in ſuch high veneration, that only his preſence immediately removed all their fears; ſo that they ſhed tears of joy, and went unanimouſly and paid him their reſpects; intreating him to lead them againſt the enemy, againſt whom they before had refuſed to march. They worked ſo hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days time they had made twelve thouſand; and alſo prepared a great number of ſkins for that purpoſe.

As every thing was ready for the march, ſeveral Scythian ambaſſadors arrived, to the number of twenty, according to the cuſtom of their country, who all rode through the camp, deſiring to ſpeak with the king. Alexander having ſent for them into his tent, deſired them to ſit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without ſpeaking a ſingle word, being very probably ſurpriſed, as they formed a judgment of men from their air and ſtature, to find that his did not anſwer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The oldeſt of the ambaſſadors made this ſpeech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I ſhall preſent my readers with the greateſt part of it.

"Had the gods given thee a body proportionable to thy "ambition, the whole univerſe would have been too little for "thee. With one hand thou wouldſt touch the eaſt, and with "the other the weſt; and not ſatisfied with this, thou wouldſt "follow the ſun, and know where he hides himſelf. Such as "thou art, thou yet aſpireſt after what it will be impoſſible "for thee to attain. Thou croſſeſt over from Europe into "Aſia; and when thou ſhalt have ſubdued all the race of men,

" thou then wilt make war againſt rivers, foreſts, and wild " beaſts. Doſt thou not know, that all trees are many years " a-growing, but may be tore up in an hour's time; that the " lion ſerves ſometimes for food to the ſmalleſt birds; that " iron, though ſo very hard, is conſumed by ruſt; in a word, " that there is nothing ſo ſtrong which may not be deſtroyed " by the weakeſt thing?

" What have we to do with thee? We never ſet foot in " thy country. May not thoſe who inhabit woods be allowed " to live without knowing who thou art, and whence thou " comeſt? We will neither command over, or ſubmit to any " man. And that thou mayeſt be ſenſible what kind of peo- " ple the Scythians are, know, that we received from heaven, " as a rich preſent, a yoke of oxen, a ploughſhare, a dart, a " javelin, and a cup. Theſe we make uſe of, both with our " friends, and againſt our enemies. To our friends we give " corn, which we procure by the labour of our oxen; with " them we offer wine to the gods in our cup: And with re- " gard to our enemies, we combat them at a diſtance with our " arrows, and near at hand with our javelins. *It is with " theſe we formerly conquered the moſt warlike nations, " ſubdued the moſt powerful kings, laid waſte all Aſia, and " opened ourſelves a way into the heart of Egypt.

" But thou, who boaſteſt thy coming to extirpate robbers, " thou thyſelf are the greateſt robber upon earth. Thou haſt " plundered all nations thou overcameſt. Thou haſt poſſeſ- " ſed thyſelf of Lydia, invaded Syria, Perſia, and Bactriana; " thou art forming a deſign to march as far as India, and thou " now comeſt hither to ſeize upon our herds of cattle. The " great poſſeſſions thou haſt, only make thee covet more ea- " gerly what thou haſt not. Doſt thou not ſee how long the " Bactrians have checked thy progreſs? Whilſt thou art ſub- " duing theſe, the Sogdians revolt, and victory is to thee on- " ly the occaſion of war.

* This is to be underſtood of the famous irruption of the Scythians, who advanced as far as Egypt, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Upper Aſia, for twenty-eight years. See the ſecond volume of this work, in the hiſtory of the Aſſyrians. I have not followed Q. Curtius literally in this place, his ſenſe being pretty much embarraſſed.

" Paſs but the Iaxarthes, and thou wilt behold the great " extent of our plains. It will be in vain for thee to purſue " the Scythians; and I defy thee ever to overtake them. Our " poverty will be more active than thy army, laden with the " ſpoils of ſo many nations; and, when thou ſhalt fancy us " at a great diſtance, thou wilt ſee us ruſh ſuddenly on thy " camp; for we purſue and fly from our enemies with equal " ſpeed. I am informed that the Greeks ſpeak jeſtingly of " the Scythian ſolitudes, and that they are even become a " proverb: But we are fonder of our deſerts than of thy " great cities and fruitful plains. Let me obſerve to thee, " that fortune is ſlippery; hold her faſt therefore, for fear ſhe " ſhould eſcape thee. Put a curb to thy felicity, if thou de- " ſireſt to continue in poſſeſſion of it.

" If thou art a god, thou oughteſt to do good to mortals, " and not deprive them of their poſſeſſions: If thou art a mere " man, reflect always on what thou art. They whom thou " ſhalt not moleſt will be thy true friends; the ſtrongeſt " friendſhips being contracted between equals; and they are " eſteemed equals, who have not tried their ſtrength againſt " each other: But do not imagine, that thoſe whom thou " conquereſt can love thee; for there is no ſuch thing as " friendſhip between a maſter and his ſlave, and a forced " peace is ſoon followed by a war.

" To conclude, * do not fancy that the Scythians will take an " oath in their concluding an alliance. The only oath among " them is to keep their word without ſwearing. Such cau- " tions as theſe do indeed become Greeks, who ſign their " treaties, and call upon the gods to witneſs them; but, with " regard to us, our religion conſiſts in being ſincere, and in " keeping the promiſes we have made. That man who is not " aſhamed to break his word with men, is not aſhamed of de- " ceiving the gods; and of what uſe could friends be to thee " whom thou couldſt not truſt? Conſider that we will guard " both Europe and Aſia for thee. We extend as far as Thrace;

* Jurando gratium Scythas fanciré ne credideris: colendo fidem jurant. Graecorum iſta cautio eſt, qui acta conſignant, et deos invocant: nos religionem in ipſa fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos. Q. Curt.

" and we are told that this country is contiguous to Macedo-
" nia. The river Iaxarthes only divides us from Bactriana.
" Thus we are thy neighbours on both ſides. Conſider, there-
" fore, whether thou wilt have us for friends or enemies."

The Barbarian ſpoke thus: To whom the king made a very ſhort anſwer; " That he would take advantage both of his
" own good fortune, and of their counſel; of his good for-
" tune, by ſtill continuing to rely upon it; and of their coun-
" ſel, by not attempting any thing raſhly." Having diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, his army embarked on the raſts, which by this time were got ready. In the front, he placed ſuch as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to ſecure themſelves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind theſe were thoſe who worked the machines for diſcharging arrows and ſtones, covered on all ſides with ſoldiers armed cap-a-pee. The reſt, who followed the engines, had their ſhields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoiſe, by which they defended the ſailors, who wore corſlets. The like order and diſpoſition was obſerved in the other rafts or floats which carried the horſe.

The army found great difficulty in croſſing. Every thing conſpired to intimidate them; the clamour and confuſion, that are inſeparable from ſuch an enterpriſe; the rapidity of the ſtream, which carried away every thing with it; and the ſight of a numerous army drawn up in battle-array, on the oppoſite ſhore. However, the preſence of Alexander, who was ever the foremoſt in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own ſafety, and be concerned for his only. As ſoon as the Macedonians began to draw near the ſhore, they who carried ſhields roſe up together; when, throwing their javelins with a ſtrong arm, every weapon did execution. When they perceived that the enemy, overpowered with that ſhower of ſhafts, began to retire, and draw their horſes back, they leaped on the ſhore with incredible ſwiftneſs, and, animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this diſorder, the troopers, whoſe horſes were ready bridled, ruſhed upon the enemy, and quite broke them. The king could not be heard,

by reaſon of the faintneſs of his voice; but the example he ſet, ſpoke for him.

And now nothing was heard in the Macedonian army, but ſhouts of joy and victory, whilſt they continued to attack the Barbarians with the utmoſt fury. The latter not being able to ſtand ſo fierce an onſet, fled as faſt as their horſes could carry them; for theſe were the cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheleſs purſued them briſkly a long way, till being at laſt quite ſpent, he was obliged to ſtop. After commanding his troops to purſue them as long as they could ſee, he withdrew to the camp in order to repoſe himſelf, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries or limits of Bacchus, which were marked out by great ſtones ranged pretty cloſe one to the other, and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. However, the heat of the purſuit carried them ſtill farther, and they did not return back into the camp, till after midnight; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more priſoners, with eighteen hundred horſes, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's ſide there were but ſixty troopers ſlain, and about an hundred foot, with a thouſand wounded. Alexander ſent back to the Scythians all their priſoners without ranſom, to ſhew, that not animoſity, but a thirſt of glory, had prompted him to make war againſt ſo valiant a nation.

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquiſhed, greatly increaſed his reputation. The Scythians had always been conſidered as invincible; but after their defeat, it was owned, that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The Sacae, who were a powerful nation, ſent an embaſſy to Alexander, by which they ſubmitted themſelves to him, and requeſted his friendſhip. The Scythians themſelves made an apology by their ambaſſadors; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on ſome few people, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the commands of the victorious prince.

Alexander, being ſo happily freed from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himſelf. At the firſt news of Alexander's approach, he had fled away, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king purſued him thither, but deſpairing to come up with him, he returned back and ſacked Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polytimetus.

Among the Sogdians that were taken priſoners, there were thirty young men, who were well ſhaped and very comely, and the greateſt lords of the country. Theſe being told, that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to ſing ſongs of joy, to leap and dance, diſcovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, ſurpriſed to ſee them go to death with ſo much gaiety, had them brought before him; when he aſked them how they came to break into ſuch tranſports of joy, when they ſaw death before their eyes? They anſwered, that they ſhould have been afflicted, had any other perſon but himſelf put them to death; but as they would be reſtored to their anceſtors by the command of ſo great a monarch, who had vanquiſhed all nations, they bleſſed this death; a death ſo glorious, that the braveſt men would wiſh to die the ſame. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, aſked whether they would deſire to be pardoned, upon condition that they would no longer be his enemies? They anſwered, he might be aſſured they had never been his enemies; but that, as he had attacked them, they had defended themſelves; and that had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vied with him in politeneſs and generoſity. The king aſked them farther what pledges they would give him of their faith and ſincerity? "No other," anſwered they, "but the ſame life we "receive from your goodneſs, and which we ſhall always be "ready to give back, whenever you ſhall require it." And, indeed, they were as good as their word. Four of them whom he took into his body-guard, endeavoured to rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a ſmall number of forces in Sog-

diana, marched to Bactria, where, having assembled his generals, he commanded Bessus to be brought before them; when, after reproaching him for his treachery, and causing his nose and ears to be cut off, he sent him to Ecbatana, there to suffer whatever punishment Darius's mother should think proper to inflict upon him. Plutarch has left us an account of this execution. Four trees were bent by main force, one towards the other; and to each of these trees one of the limbs of this traitor's body was fastened. Afterwards, these trees being let return to their natural position, they flew back with so much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and so quartered him. The same punishment is at this day inflicted on persons convicted of high treason, who are tore to pieces by four horses.

Alexander received at this time, both from Macedonia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amounting to upwards of sixteen thousand men. By this considerable reinforcement he was enabled to subdue all those who had rebelled; and to curb them for the future, he built several fortresses in Margiana.

[u] All things were now restored to a profound tranquillity. There remained but one strong hold, called Petra Oxiana, or the rock of Oxus, which was defended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with thirty thousand soldiers under his command, and amunition and provisions for two years. This rock, which was very high and craggy on all sides, was accessible only by a single path that was cut in it. The king, after viewing its works, was a long time in suspense whether he should besiege it; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impossibilities, he resolved to try if he could overcome, on this occasion, nature itself, which seemed to have fortified this rock in such a manner as had rendered it absolutely impregnable. However, before he formed the siege, he summoned those Barbarians, but in mild terms, to submit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner; and after using several insulting expressions, asked, "whether Alexander, who was able

[u] A. M. 3676. Ant. J. C. 328.

" to do all things, could fly alſo; and whether nature had, " on a ſudden, given him wings?"

Alexander was highly exaſperated at this anſwer. He therefore gave orders for ſelecting, from among the mountaineers who were in his army, three hundred of the moſt active and dexterous. Theſe being brought to him, he addreſſed them thus: " It was in your company, brave young men, that I " ſtormed ſuch places as were thought impregnable; that I " made my way over mountains covered with eternal ſnows; " croſſed rivers, and broke through the paſſes of Cilicia. This " rock, which you ſee, has but one outlet, which alone is " defended by the Barbarians, who neglect every other part. " There is no watch or ſentinel, except on that ſide which " faces our camp. If you ſearch very narrowly, you certain- " ly will meet with ſome path that leads to the top of the " rock. Nothing has been made ſo inacceſſible by nature as " not to be ſurmounted by valour; and it was only by our " attempting what no one before had hopes of affecting, that " we poſſeſſed ourſelves of Aſia. Get up to the ſummit, and " when you ſhall have made yourſelves maſters of it, ſet up a " white ſtandard there as a ſignal; and be aſſured, that I then " will certainly diſengage you, from the enemy, and draw them " upon myſelf, by making a diverſion." At the ſame time that the king gave out this order, he made them the moſt noble promiſes; but the pleaſing him was conſidered by them as the greateſt of rewards. Fired therefore with the nobleſt ardour, and fancying they had already reached the ſummit, they ſet out, after having provided themſelves with wedges to drive into the ſtones, cramp-irons, and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their march at the ſecond watch of the night *, by that part which ſhould ſeem to them of eaſieſt acceſs; beſeeching the gods to guide their ſteps. They then took proviſions for two days: and being armed with ſwords and javelins only, they began to aſcend the mountain, walking ſome time on foot; afterwards, when it was neceſſary for them to climb, ſome forced their wedges into the ſtones which

* About ten o'clock.

projected forwards, and by that means raiſed themſelves; others thruſt their cramp-irons into the ſtones that were frozen, to keep themſelves from falling in ſo ſlippery a way; in fine, others driving in their wedges with great ſtrength, made them ſerve as ſo many ſcaling ladders. They ſpent the whole day in this manner, hanging againſt the rock, and expoſed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to ſtruggle at the ſame time with ſnow, cold, and wind. Nevertheleſs, the hardeſt taſk was yet to come; and the farther they advanced, the higher the rock ſeemed to riſe. But that which terrified them moſt, was the ſad ſpectacle of ſome of their comrades falling down precipices, whoſe unhappy fate was a warning to them of what they themſelves might expect. Notwithſtanding this, they ſtill advanced forward, and exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that, in ſpite of all theſe difficulties, they at laſt got to the top of the rock. They then were inexpreſſibly weary, and many of them had even loſt the uſe of ſome of their limbs. Night and drowſineſs came upon them at the ſame time; ſo that, diſperſing themſelves in ſuch diſtant parts of the rock as were free from ſnows, they lay down in them, and ſlept till day-break. At laſt, waking from a deep ſleep, and looking on all ſides to diſcover the place where ſo many people could lie hid, they ſaw ſmoke below them, which ſhewed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the ſignal, as had been agreed; and their whole company drawing up, thirty-two were found wanting, who had loſt their lives in the aſcent.

In the mean time the king, equally fired with a deſire of ſtorming the fortreſs, and ſtruck with the viſible dangers to which thoſe men were expoſed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock; and he himſelf did not retire to reſt till dark night. The next morning, by peep of day, he was the firſt who perceived the ſignal. Nevertheleſs, he was ſtill in doubt whether he might truſt his eyes, becauſe of the falſe ſplendor which breaks out at day break; but the light increaſing, he was ſure of what he ſaw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his command, had founded the Barbarians, he diſpatched him a ſecond time, with an exhortation to think better of the matter; and in caſe they ſhould

ſtill depend upon the ſtrength of the place, he then was ordered to ſhew them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the ſummit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments poſſible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate; repreſenting to him, that he would gain the king's favour, in caſe he did not interrupt the great deſigns he meditated, by obliging him to make ſome ſtay before that rock. Arimazes ſent a haughtier and more inſolent anſwer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes, taking him by the hand, deſired he would come out of the cave with him, which the Barbarian doing, he ſhewed him the Macedonians poſted over his head; and ſaid in an inſulting tone of voice, "You "ſee that Alexander's ſoldiers have wings." In the mean time, the trumpets were heard to ſound in every part of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army ſhouted aloud, and cried, "Victory!" Theſe things, though of little conſequence in themſelves, did nevertheleſs, as often happens, throw the Barbarians into ſo great a conſternation, that without once reflecting how few were got to the ſummit, they thought themſelves loſt. Upon this Cophes was recalled, and thirty of the chiefs among the Barbarians were ſent back with him, who agreed to ſurrender up the place, upon condition that their lives might be ſpared. The king, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition he might meet with, was however ſo exaſperated at the haughtineſs of Arimazes, that he refuſed to grant them any terms of capitulation. A blind and raſh confidence in his own good fortune, which had never failed him, made him inſenſible to every danger. Arimazes, on the other ſide, blinded by fear, and concluding himſelf abſolutely loſt, came down, with his relations and the principal nobility of the country, into Alexander's camp. But this prince, who was not maſter of his anger, forgetting what the faith of treaty and humanity required on this occaſion, cauſed them all to be ſcourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to croſſes, at the foot of the ſame rock. The multitudes of people who ſurrendered, with all the booty, were given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been newly founded in thoſe parts; and Artabazus was left governor of the rock and the whole province round it.

SECTION XIV.

DEATH of CLITUS. EXPEDITIONS of ALEXANDER. He commands WORSHIP to be paid to himſelf.

ALEXANDER [o], having ſubdued the Maſſagetae and the Dahae, entered Bazaria. In this province are a great number of large parks ſtocked with deer. Here the king took the diverſion of hunting, in which he was expoſed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous ſize advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a ſingle thruſt. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occaſion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his perſon, gave orders, purſuant to the cuſtom of their country, that the king ſhould go no more a hunting on foot, without being attended by ſome of his courtiers and officers. They were ſenſible, that a king is not born for his own ſake, but for that of his ſubjects; that he ought to be careful of his own perſon for their ſakes, and reſerve his courage for other dangers; and that the being famous for killing beaſts, a reputation unworthy of a great prince, ought not to be purchaſed ſo dear.

From hence he advanced to Maracanda, where he quelled ſome tumults which had broke out in that country. Artabazus requeſting to be diſcharged from the government of that province, by reaſon of his great age, he appointed Clitus his ſucceſſor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Roſaces had his arm raiſed, in order to ſtrike him behind, he covered the king with his ſhield, and cut off the Barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his ſiſter, had nurſed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderneſs as if ſhe had been his own mother. As the king, from theſe ſeveral conſiderations, had a very great reſpect for Clitus, he intruſted him with the government of one of the moſt important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to ſet out the next day.

[o] Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 1—8. Arrian. l. iv. p. 161—171. Plut. in Alex p. 693—696. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 6, 7.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king, * after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; and was so exceſſively laviſh of ſelf-commendation, that he even ſhocked thoſe very perſons who knew that he ſpoke truth. However, the oldeſt men in the company held their peace, till, beginning to depretiate the warlike acts of Philip, he boaſted, "That the famous victory of Chaeronea was won by his "means; and that the glory of ſo immortal a battle had been "torn from him by the malice and jealouſy of his father: "That in the inſurrection † which broke out between the "Macedonians and mercenary Greeks, Philip, fainting away "after the wounds he had received in that tumult, had laid "himſelf on the ground; and could not think of a better "method to ſave himſelf, than by lying along as dead; that "on this occaſion he had covered him with his ſhield, and "killed with his own hands thoſe who attempted to fall upon him; but that his father could never prevail upon himſelf to confeſs this circumſtance ingenuouſly, being vexed "that he owed his life to his own ſon: That in the war "againſt the Illyrians, he was the only perſon who had done "any thing, Philip having had no manner of ſhare in it, and "hearing of the defeat of the enemy no otherwiſe than by "the letters he ſent him: That the perſons worthy of praiſe, "were not ſuch as initiated themſelves in the ‡ myſteries of "the Samothracians, when they ought to have laid waſte all "Aſia with fire and ſword, but thoſe who had achieved ſuch mighty exploits as ſurpaſſed all belief."

Theſe and the like diſcourſes were very pleaſing to the young men, but were very ſhocking to thoſe advanced in

* In quo Rex, cum multo incaluiſſet mero, immodicus aeſtimator ſui, celebrare quae geſſerat coepit: gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui ſentiebant vera memorari. Q. Curt.

† This ſedition is not mentioned in any other place.

‡ It was uſual for generals, before they ſet out on their expeditions, to cauſe themſelves to be initiated in theſe myſteries, and offer ſacrifices to the gods who preſided in them. Poſſibly Philip, by obſerving this ceremony, had delayed ſome enterpriſe.

years; eſpecially for Philip's ſake, under whom they had fought many years. Clitus, who alſo was intoxicated, turning about to thoſe who ſat below him at table, quoted to them a paſſage from * Euripides, but in ſuch a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words diſtinctly. The ſenſe of this paſſage was, "That the Greeks had done "very wrong in ordaining, that in the inſcriptions engraved "on trophies, the names of kings only ſhould be mentioned; "becauſe †, by theſe means, brave men were robbed of the "glory they had purchaſed with their blood." The king, ſuſpecting Clitus had let drop ſome diſobliging expreſſions, aſked thoſe who ſat neareſt him what he had ſaid? As no one anſwered, Clitus, raiſing his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great diſpute between the young and old men. Though the king was prodigiouſly vexed in his mind, he nevertheleſs ſtifled his reſentment, and ſeemed to liſten very patiently to all Clitus ſpoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite ſuppreſſed his paſſion, had Clitus ſtopped there; but the latter growing more and more inſolent, as if determined to exaſperate and inſult the king, went ſuch lengths, as to defend Parmenio publicly; and to aſſert, that the deſtroying of Thebes was but trifling in compariſon of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though ſometimes unſucceſsful, were greatly ſuperior to thoſe who were ſo raſh as to deſpiſe them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill ſucceſs, he was pleading his own cauſe; Clitus riſes up, with his eyes ſparkling with wine and anger, "It is nevertheleſs "this hand," ſaid he to him, extending it at the ſame time, "that ſaved your life at the battle of the Granicus. It is the "blood and wounds of theſe very Macedonians, who are ac"cuſed of cowardice, that raiſed you to this grandeur. But "the tragical end of Parmenio ſhews what reward they and "myſelf may expect for all our ſervices." This laſt reproach,

* In his Andromache.

† Alieno enim ſanguine partam gloriam intercipi. Q. Curt.

ſtung Alexander: However, he ſtill reſtrained his paſſion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is in "the right," ſays Clitus, as he roſe up, "not to bear free-born "men at his table, who can only tell him truth. He will do "well to paſs his life among Barbarians and ſlaves, who will be "proud to pay their adoration to his Perſian girdle and his "white robe." But now the king, no longer able to ſuppreſs his rage, ſnatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the ſpot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, ſinging, with an air of inſolence, verſes reflecting highly on the prince, who ſeeing the general near him, ſtruck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the ſame time, "Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to "Attalus."

The king's anger being in a manner extinguiſhed on a ſudden in the blood of Clitus, his crime diſplayed itſelf to him in its blackeſt and moſt dreadful light. He had murdered a man, who indeed had abuſed his patience; but then he had always ſerved him with the utmoſt zeal and fidelity, and ſaved his life, though he was aſhamed to own it. He had that inſtant performed the vile office of an executioner, in puniſhing, by an horrid murder, the uttering of ſome indiſcreet words, which might be imputed to the fumes of wine. With what face could he appear before the ſiſter of Clitus, his nurſe, and offer her a hand imbrued in her brother's blood? Upon this he threw himſelf on his friend's body, forced out the javelin, and would have diſpatched himſelf with it, had not the guards, who ruſhed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and forcibly carried him into his apartment.

He paſſed that night and the next day in tears. After that groans and lamentations had quite waſted his ſpirits, he continued ſpeechleſs, ſtretched on the ground, and only venting deep ſighs. But his friends, fearing his ſilence would be fatal, forced themſelves into his chamber. The king took very little notice of the words that were employed to comfort him;

but Ariſtander the ſoothſayer putting him in mind of a dream, in which he had imagined he ſaw Clitus, clothed in a black robe, and ſeated at table; and declaring, that all which had then happened was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, Alexander appeared a little eaſier in his mind. He next was addreſſed by two philoſophers, Calliſthenes and Anaxarchus. The former went up to him with an air of humanity and tenderneſs, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs his grief, by agreeably inſinuating himſelf, and endeavoured to make him recal his reaſon, by reflections of a ſolid nature, drawn from the very eſſence of philoſophy, and by carefully ſhunning all ſuch expreſſions as might renew his affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was ſtill bleeding, required to be touched with the gentleſt hand. But Anaxarchus did not obſerve this decorum; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, "How! "is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of the whole world "are fixed? Behold him here extended on the floor, ſhed-"ding floods of tears, like the meaneſt ſlave! Does not he "know, that he himſelf is a ſupreme law to his ſubjects; "that he conquered merely to raiſe himſelf to the exalted "dignity of lord and ſovereign, and not to ſubject himſelf to "a vain opinion?" The king was determined to ſtarve himſelf; ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little ſuſtenance. The Macedonians declared by a decree, that Clitus had been very juſtly killed; to which decree Anaxarchus the philoſopher had given occaſion, by aſſerting, that the will of princes is the ſupreme law of the ſtate. Alas! how weak are all ſuch reflections againſt the cries of a juſtly alarmed conſcience, which can never be quieted, either by flattery or falſe amuſement.

It muſt be confeſſed, that Clitus had committed an inexcuſable fault. It was indeed his duty, not to join in diſcourſes calculated to fully the glory of Philip his benefactor; but to ſhew his diſlike of what was ſaid, by a mournful but modeſt ſilence. He poſſibly might have been allowed to ſpeak in favour of the late monarch, provided he had expreſſed himſelf with prudence and moderation. Had ſuch a reſervedneſs been

unſucceſsful, he might juſtly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and ſhocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the ſacred character of kings; with regard to whom, how unjuſtly ſoever they may act, not only every contemptuous and inſulting expreſſion is forbid, but every diſreſpectful and unguarded word; they being the repreſentatives of God himſelf.

It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that the circumſtance of the banquet extenuates very much, or throws, in ſome meaſure, a veil over Clitus's fault. When a prince invites a ſubject to a feaſt; when he makes him the companion of debauch, and in perſon invites him to quaff immoderately; a king, on ſuch an occaſion, ſeems to forget his dignity, and to permit his ſubjects to forget it alſo; he gives a ſanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and ſudden flights which wine commonly inſpires: And ſhould he be diſpleaſed with a ſubject for equalling himſelf with him, he ought to blame himſelf for having firſt raiſed a ſubject ſo high. A fault committed under theſe circumſtances is always a fault; but then it ought never to be expiated with the blood of the offender.

A certain author compares * anger, when united to power, with thunder; and indeed what havoc does it not then make? But how dreadful muſt it be when joined with drunkenneſs! We ſee this in Alexander. How unhappy was that prince, not to have endeavoured to ſubdue thoſe two vices in his youth; and † to have been confirmed in them, from the example of one of his tutors? For it is aſſerted, that both were the conſequences of his education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a king than drinking to exceſs? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the tranſports of anger? ‡ Alexander, who had overcome ſo many nations, was himſelf conquered by

* Fulmen eſt, ubi cum poteſtate habitat iracundia. Publ. Syr.

† Nec minus error eorum nocet moribus, ſi quidem Leonides Alexandri paedagogus, ut a Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibuſdam cum vitiis imbuit, quae rebuſtum quoque et jam maximum regem ab illa inſtitutione puerili ſunt proſecuta. Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.

‡ Victor tot regum atque populorum, irae ſuccubuit. Id enim egerat, ut omnia potius haberet in poteſtate, quam affectus—Imperare ſibi, maximum imperium eſt. Senec. epiſt. cxiii.

thoſe two vices, which throw a ſhade over the glory of his brighteſt actions. The reaſon of this, ſays Seneca, is; he endeavoured more to vanquiſh others, than to ſubdue himſelf; not knowing, that to triumph over our paſſions is, of all conqueſts, the moſt glorious.

Alexander, after continuing ten days at Maracanda, in order to recover his ſpirits, marched into the Xenippa, a province bordering upon Scythia; whither ſome rebels were retired, all whom he ſubjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he ſet forward with his army towards the rock Chorienſis, of which Syſimethres was governor. All acceſs to it ſeemed abſolutely impracticable; nevertheleſs, he at laſt got near it, after having paſſed through numberleſs difficulties; and, by the mediation of Oxartes, a prince of that country who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed with Syſimethres to ſurrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promiſed him very great advantages in caſe he continued faithful.

Alexander had reſolved to attack the Dahae, becauſe Spitamenes, the chief of the rebels was among them; but the felicity which always attended him ſpared him that labour. The wife of this Barbarian, being no longer able to bear the vagabond wretched life her huſband had forced her to lead, and having often entreated him, but in vain, to ſurrender himſelf to the conqueror ſhe herſelf murdered him in the night; and, quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was ſhocked at ſo horrid a ſpectacle, and ordered her to be drove ignominiouſly from the camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garriſons where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he met with a dreadful ſtorm. Flaſhes of lightning coming thick one upon the other, dazzled the eyes of the ſoldiers and entirely diſcouraged them. It thundered almoſt inceſſantly, and the thunder-bolts fell every moment at the feet of the ſoldiers; ſo that they did not dare either to ſtand ſtill or advance forward. On a ſudden a violent ſhower of rain, mixed with hail, came pouring down

like a flood; and ſo extreme was the cold in this country, that it froze the rain as ſoon as it fell. The ſufferings of the army on this occaſion were inſupportable. The king, who was the only perſon invincible to theſe calamities, rode up and down among the ſoldiers; comforted and animated them; and pointing at ſmoke which iſſued from ſome diſtant huts, intreated them to march to them with all the ſpeed poſſible. Having given orders for the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps up and down, he had fires made in different places, and by this means ſaved the army; but upwards of a thouſand men loſt their lives. The king made up to the officers and ſoldiers the ſeveral loſſes they had ſuſtained during this fatal ſtorm.

When they were recovered ſo well as to be able to march, he went into the country of the Sacae, which he ſoon overran and laid waſte. Soon after this, Oxartes received him in his palace, and invited him to a ſumptuous banquet, in which he diſplayed all the magnificence of the Barbarians. He had a daughter, called Roxana, a young lady whoſe exquiſite beauty was heightened by all the charms of wit and good ſenſe. Alexander found her charms irreſiſtable, and made her his wife; covering his paſſion with the ſpecious pretence of uniting the two nations in ſuch bands as ſhould improve their mutual harmony, by blending their intereſts, and throwing down all diſtinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage diſpleaſed the Macedonians very much, and exaſperated his chief courtiers, to ſee him make one of his ſlaves his father-in-law: But as, * after his murdering Clitus, no one dared to ſpeak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themſelves wonderfully to flattery and ſervile complacency.

In fine, having reſolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded, in order that nothing might be left behind to check his deſigns, that thirty thouſand young men ſhould be brought him, all completely

* Sed, poſt Clyti cædem, libertate ſublata, vultu, qui maxime ſervit, aſſentiebantur. Q. Curt.

armed, out of the ſeveral provinces, to ſerve him at the ſame time as hoſtages and ſoldiers. In the mean while, he ſent Craterus againſt ſome of the rebels, whom he eaſily defeated. Polyſperchon likewiſe ſubdued a country called Bubacene; ſo that all things being in perfect tranquillity, Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on the war with India. This country was conſidered as the richeſt in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious ſtones, with which the inhabitants adorn themſelves, but with more luxury than graceſulneſs. It was related, that the ſwords of the ſoldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greateſt monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any perſon whatſoever, in any circumſtance, cauſed the ſwords of his ſoldiers to be ſet off with ſilver plates, put golden bridles to the horſes, had the coats of mail heightened with gold and ſilver, and prepared to march for this enterpriſe, at the head of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, all equipped with the magnificence above deſcribed.

All things being ready for their ſetting out, he thought proper to reveal the deſign he had ſo long meditated, viz. to have divine honours paid him; and was ſolely intent on the means for putting that deſign in execution. He was reſolved, not only to be called, but to be believed, the ſon of Jupiter; as if it had been poſſible for him to command as abſolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians would condeſcend to fall proſtrate, and adore him after the Perſian manner.

To * ſoothe and cheriſh theſe ridiculous pretenſions, there were not wanting flatterers, thoſe common peſts of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies. The Macedonians, indeed, would not ſtoop to this baſe adulation; all of them, to a man, refuſing to vary, in any manner, from the cuſtoms of their country. The whole evil was owing to ſome Greeks, whoſe depraved manners were a ſcandal to their profeſſion of teaching virtue and the ſciences. Theſe, though the mean refuſe of Greece, were nevertheleſs in greater

* Non decerat talia concupiſcenti pernicioſa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes ſaepius aſſentatio, quam hoſtis, evertit. Q. Curt.

credit with the king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army. It was ſuch creatures as theſe that placed him in the ſkies; and publiſhed, wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Caſtor, and Pollux, would reſign their ſeats to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a feſtival, and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greateſt lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and moſt of the higheſt quality among the Perſians. With theſe he ſat down at table for ſome time; after which he withdrew. Upon this Cleon, one of his flatterers, began to ſpeak, and expatiated very much on the praiſes of the king, as had before been agreed upon. He made a long detail of the high obligations they had to him; all which, he obſerved, they might acknowledge and repay at a very eaſy expence, merely with two grains of incenſe, which they ſhould offer him as to a god, without the leaſt ſcruple, ſince they believed him ſuch. To this purpoſe he cited the example of the Perſians. He took notice, that Hercules himſelf, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities till after they had ſurmounted the envy of their contemporaries. That in caſe the reſt ſhould not care to pay this juſtice to Alexander's merit, he himſelf was reſolved to ſhew them the way, and to worſhip him if he ſhould come into the hall. But that all of them muſt do their duty, eſpecially thoſe that profeſſed wiſdom, who ought to ſerve to the reſt as an example of the veneration due to ſo great a monarch.

It appeared plainly that this ſpeech was directed to Calliſthenes. [p] He was related to Ariſtotle, who had preſented him to Alexander his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the war of Perſia. He was conſidered, upon account of his wiſdom and gravity, as the fitteſt perſon to give him ſuch wholeſome counſel, as was moſt capable of preſerving him from thoſe exceſſes, into which his youth and fiery temper might hurry him: But he was accuſed of not poſſeſſing the gentle, inſinuating behaviour of courts; and of * not

[p] Diog. Laert. in Ariſtot. l. v. p. 303.

* Inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obſequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. Tacit. annal. l. iv. c. 20.

knowing a certain medium between grovelling complacency and inflexible obſtinacy. Ariſtotle had attempted, but to no purpoſe to ſoften the ſeverity of his temper; and foreſeeing the ill conſequences with which his diſagreeable liberty of ſpeaking his mind might be attended, he uſed often to repeat the following verſe of Homer * to him;

My ſon, thy freedom will abridge thy days.

And his prediction was but too true.

This philoſopher, ſeeing that every one, on this occaſion, continued in a deep ſilence, and that the eyes of the whole aſſembly were fixed on him, made a ſpeech, which appears to me juſt enough. However, it often happens, when a ſubject is bound in duty to oppoſe the inclinations of his ſovereign, that the moſt cautious and moſt reſpectful zeal is conſidered as inſolence and rebellion. "Had the king," ſaid he, "been "preſent when thou madeſt thy ſpeech, none among us would "then have attempted to anſwer thee, for he himſelf would "have interrupted thee, and not have ſuffered thee to prompt "him to aſſume the cuſtoms of Barbarians, in caſting an odium "on his perſon and glory, by ſo ſervile an adulation. But "ſince he is abſent, I will anſwer thee in his name. I conſider "Alexander as worthy of all the honours that can be paid "a mortal; but there is a difference between the worſhip of "the gods and that of men. The former includes temples, "altars, prayers, and ſacrifices; the latter is confined to praiſes "only, and awful reſpect. We ſalute the latter, and look "upon it as glorious to pay them ſubmiſſion, obedience, and "fidelity; but we adore the former; we inſtitute feſtivals to "their honour, and ſing hymns and ſpiritual ſongs to their "glory. The worſhip of the gods does itſelf vary, according "to their rank; and the homage we pay to Caſtor and Pol-"lux, is not like that with which we adore Mercury and Ju-"piter. We muſt not therefore confound all things, either "by bringing down the gods to the condition of mortals, or "by raiſing a mortal to the ſtate of a god. Alexander would "be juſtly offended, ſhould we pay to another perſon the ho-

* Ὠκύμορος δή μοι τέκος ἔσσεαι, εἰ ἀγορεύεις. Il. 18. v. 95.

" mage due to his ſacred perſon only; ought we not to dread " the indignation of the gods as much, ſhould we beſtow upon " mortals the honours due to them alone? I am ſenſible that " our monarch is vaſtly ſuperior to the reſt; he is the greateſt " of kings, and the moſt glorious of all conquerors; but then " he is a man, not a god. To obtain this title, he muſt firſt " be diveſted of his mortal frame; but this is greatly our in- " tereſt to wiſh may not happen, but as late as poſſible. The " Greeks did not worſhip Hercules till after his death; and " that not till the oracle had expreſsly commanded it. The " Perſians are cited as an example for our imitation; but how " long is it that the vanquiſhed have given law to the victor? " Can we forget that Alexander croſſed the Helleſpont, not " to ſubject Greece to Aſia, but Aſia to Greece?"

The deep ſilence which all the company obſerved whilſt Calliſthenes ſpoke, was an indication, in ſome meaſure, of their thoughts. The king, who ſtood behind the tapeſtry all the time, heard whatever had paſſed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, That without inſiſting any further, he would only require the Perſians to fall proſtrate, according to their uſual cuſtom; a little after which he came in, pretending he had been buſied in ſome affair of importance. Immediately the Perſians fell proſtrate to adore him. Polyſperchon, who ſtood near him, obſerving that one of them bowed ſo low that his chin touched the ground, bid him, in a rallying tone of voice, to " ſtrike harder." The king, offended at this joke, threw Polyſperchon into priſon, and broke up the aſſembly. However, he afterwards pardoned him; but Calliſthenes was not ſo fortunate.

To rid himſelf of him, he laid to his charge a crime of which he was nowiſe guilty. Hermolaus, one of the young officers who attended upon the king in all places, had, upon account of ſome private pique, formed a conſpiracy againſt him; but it was very happily diſcovered, the inſtant it was to be put in execution. The criminals were ſeized, put to the torture, and executed. Not one among them had accuſed Calliſthenes; but having been very intimate with Hermolaus,

that alone was ſufficient. Accordingly he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and the moſt grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confeſſion of guilt. But he inſiſted upon his innocence to the laſt, and expired in the midſt of his tortures.

Nothing has reflected ſo much diſhonour on Alexander's memory, as this unjuſt and cruel death of Calliſthenes. He truly merited the name of Philoſopher, from the ſolidity of his underſtanding, the extent of his knowledge, the auſterity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and above all, from the hatred he ſo evidently manifeſted for diſſimulation and flattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequenters of which muſt have a ſupple, pliable, flexible turn of mind; ſometimes it muſt be of a knaviſh and treacherous, at leaſt of an hypocritical, flattering caſt. He very ſeldom was ſeen at the king's table, though frequently invited to it; and whenever he prevailed ſo far upon himſelf as to go thither, his melancholy ſilent air was a manifeſt indication, that he diſapproved of every thing that was ſaid and done at it. With this humour, which was a little too ſevere, he would have been an ineſtimable treaſure, had he been poſſeſſed by a prince who hated falſehood; for among the many thouſands who ſurrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Calliſthenes only had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes who know the value of ſuch a virtue, and the uſe which ought to be made of it? Truth ſeldom pierces thoſe clouds which are raiſed by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And indeed Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of exhorting him to thoſe things which were for his true intereſt. From that inſtant no one ſpoke with freedom in the council; even thoſe who had the greateſt love for the public, and a perſonal affection for Alexander, thought themſelves not obliged to undeceive him. After this, nothing was liſtened to but flattery, which gained ſuch an aſcendant over that prince, as entirely depraved him, and juſtly puniſhed him, for having

facrificed to the wild ambition of having adoration paid him, the moſt virtuous man about his perſon.

I obſerve, after Seneca, that the death of Calliſthenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander *, and ſo horrid a crime, that no quality, how beautiful ſoever, no military exploit, though of the moſt conſpicuous kind, can ever efface its infamy. It is ſaid in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Perſians; that he dethroned and ſlew the moſt powerful king of the earth; conquered innumerable provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the moſt remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the eaſt: In anſwer to each of theſe particulars, "Yes," ſays Seneca, "but he murdered Calliſthenes;" a crime of ſo heinous a nature, that it entirely obliterates the glory of all his other actions.

SECTION XV.

ALEXANDER ſets out for INDIA. Beſieges and takes ſeveral CITIES. Defeats PORUS, whom he reſtores to his THRONE.

ALEXANDER [q], to ſtop the murmurs and diſcontents which aroſe among his ſoldiers, ſet out for India. He himſelf wanted action and motion, for he always, when unemployed, loſt part of the glory he had acquired in war. An exceſs of vanity and folly prompted him to undertake this expedition; a project quite uſeleſs in itſelf, and attended with very dangerous conſequences. He had read in the ancient fables of Greece, that Bacchus and Hercules, both ſons of Jupiter, as himſelf was, had marched ſo far. He was determined not to be ſur-

[q] Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 9.

* Hoc eſt Alexandri crimen aeternum; quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, occidit Perſarum multa millia; opponetur, et Calliſthenem. Quoties dictum erit, occidit Darium, penes quem tunc magnum regnum erat; opponetur, et Calliſthenem. Quoties dictum erit, omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipſum quoque tentavit novis claſſibus, et imperium ex angulo Thraciae uſque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, ſed Calliſthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiquo ducum regumque exempla tranſierit, ex his quae fecit, nihil tam magnum erit, quam ſcelus Calliſthenis. Senec. Nat. Quaeſt. l. vi. c. 23.

paſſed by them: And there were not wanting flatterers, who applauded this wild chemerical deſign.

Theſe are the things that conſtitute the glory and merit of ſuch pretended heroes; and it is this which many people, dazzled by a falſe ſplendor, ſtill admire in Alexander: A ridiculous deſire of rambling up and down the world; of diſturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations; of treating all thoſe as enemies, who ſhould refuſe to acknowledge him for their ſovereign; of ranſacking and extirpating ſuch as ſhould preſume to defend their liberties, their poſſeſſions, and their lives, againſt an unjuſt invader, who came from the extremity of the earth to attack them, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon. Add to this glaring injuſtice, the raſh and ſtupid project he had formed, of ſubduing, with infinite labour, aud the utmoſt hazard, many more nations than it was poſſible for him to keep in ſubjection; and the ſad neceſſity to which he was reduced, of being perpetually obliged to conquer them a-new, and puniſh them for their rebellion. This is a ſketch of what the conqueſt of India will exhibit to us, after I ſhall have given ſome little account of the ſituation and manners of that country, and ſome of its rarities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts; India on this, and India on the other ſide of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even ſo far as the Ganges. This firſt part is ſituated between two great rivers, Indus, whence this country receives its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy ſays, the limits of it are, to the weſt, Paropamiſus, Arachoſia, and Gedroſia, which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of Perſia: To the north, mount Imaus, which is part of Great Tartary: To the eaſt, the Ganges: To the ſouth, the Ocean or Indian Sea.

[r] All the Indians are free, and, like the Lacedaemonians, have no ſlaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make uſe of foreign ſlaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead, but are of opinion, that the reputation of illuſtrious men is their mauſoleum.

[r] Arrian. de India, p. 324—328.

They may be divided into ſeven claſſes. The firſt and moſt honourable, though the ſmalleſt, is that of the Brachmans, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the ſequel.

The ſecond and greateſt is that of the huſbandmen. Theſe are had in great veneration. Their only employment is to plough the fields; and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms and ſerve in the field in war time: It is an inviolable law, never to moleſt them or their lands.

The third is that of herdſmen and ſhepherds, who keep herds and flocks, and never come into the cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often exerciſe themſelves in hunting.

The fourth is of traders and artificers; among whom pilots and ſeamen are included. Theſe three laſt orders pay a tribute to the king; and none are exempted from it but thoſe that make arms, who, inſtead of paying any thing, receive a ſtipend from the public.

The fifth is of ſoldiers, whoſe only employment is war: They are furniſhed with all ſorts of neceſſaries; and, in time of peace, are abundantly ſupplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free and diſengaged from cares of every kind.

The ſixth order is that of overſeers, Ἐπίσκοποι, who ſuperintend the actions of others, and examine every tranſaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in theſe magiſtrates are, exactneſs, ſincerity, probity, and the love of their country. None of theſe magiſtrates, ſays the hiſtorian, have ever been accuſed of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really fact! However, this obſervation proves at leaſt that truth and juſtice were had in great honour in this country, and that knavery and inſincerity were deteſted in it.

Laſtly, the ſeventh claſs conſiſts of perſons employed in the public councils, and who ſhare the cares of the government with the ſovereign. From this claſs are taken magiſtrates, intendants, governors of provinces, generals, and all military

officers, whether for land or ſea; comptrollers of the treaſury, receivers, and all who are intruſted with the public monies.

Theſe different orders of the ſtate never blend by marriage; and an artificer, for inſtance, is not allowed to take a wife from among the claſs of huſbandmen; and ſo of the reſt. None of theſe can follow two profeſſions at the ſame time, nor quit one claſs for another. It is natural to conclude, that this regulation muſt have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades; as every one added his own induſtry and reflections to thoſe of his anceſtors, which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many obſervations might be made on theſe Indian cuſtoms, which I am obliged to omit, for the ſake of proceeding in my hiſtory. I only intreat the reader to obſerve, that in every wiſe government, every well-governed ſtate, the tilling of lands, and the grazing of cattle, two perpetual and certain ſources of riches and abundance, have always been one of the chief objects of the care of thoſe who preſide in the adminiſtration; and that the neglect of either, is erring againſt one of the moſt important maxims in policy.

I alſo admire very much that cuſtom of appointing overſeers, whether they are known for ſuch or not, who go upon the ſpot, in order to inſpect the conduct of governors, intendants, and judges; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages to which unlimited authority, and the diſtance from a court, frequently give occaſion; the only method, at the ſame time, for a ſovereign to know the ſtate of his kingdom, without which it is impoſſible for him to govern happily the people whom Providence has intruſted to his care. This care regards him perſonally; and thoſe who act under him can no more diſpenſe with the diſcharge of it, than they can uſurp his diadem.

It is remarkable, that in India, from the month of June to thoſe of September and October, exceſſive rains fall very often, whereby the croſſing of rivers is rendered much more difficult, and frequent inundations happen. Hence we may judge

how greatly, during all this ſeaſon, the armies of Alexander muſt have ſuffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I ſhall ſay a few words concerning elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other. The elephant exceeds all terreſtrial animals in ſize. Some are thirteen or fifteen feet high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives ſometimes to the age of an hundred or an hundred and twenty years; nay much longer, if ſome ancient writers may be credited. Its noſe, called its trunk, "Proboſcis," is long and hollow like a large trumpet, and ſerves the elephant inſtead of a hand *, which it moves with incredible agility and ſtrength, and thereby is of prodigious ſervice to it. The † elephant, notwithſtanding its prodigious ſize, is ſo tractable and induſtrious, that one would be almoſt apt to conclude it were informed with ſomething like human reaſon. It is ſuſceptible of affection, fondneſs, and gratitude, ſo far as to pine away with ſorrow when it has loſt its maſter, and even ſometimes to deſtroy itſelf when it happens to have abuſed or murdered him in the tranſport of its fury. There is no kind of thing which it cannot be taught. Arrian, whoſe authority is not to be queſtioned, relates, that he had ſeen an elephant dance with two cymbals fixed to his legs, which he ſtruck one after the other in cadence with his trunk; and that the reſt danced round him, keeping time with a ſurpriſing exactneſs.

He deſcribes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians incloſe a large ſpot of ground, with a trench about twenty feet wide, and fifteen feet high, to which there is acceſs but in one part, and this is a bridge, and is covered with turf; in order that theſe animals, who are very ſubtile, may not ſuſpect what is intended. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raiſed, on the other ſide of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themſelves in order to watch theſe animals; and its

* Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles auditus habebant ad paſtum. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. ii. n. 123.

† Elephanto belluarum nulla providentior. At figura quae vaſtior. De Nat. Deor. l. i. n. 97.

entrance is very ſmall. In this incloſure two or three tame female elephants are ſet. The inſtant the wild elephants ſee or ſmell them, they run and whirl about ſo much, that at laſt they enter the incloſure, upon which the bridge is immediately broke down; and the people upon the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broke for a few days by hunger and thirſt, people enter the incloſure upon tame elephants, and with theſe they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impoſſible for them to make a long reſiſtance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs, having firſt made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in caſe they attempt to ſtir. Being tamed in this manner, they ſuffer themſelves to be led quietly to the houſes with the reſt, where they are fed with graſs and green corn, and tamed inſenſibly by blows and hunger, till ſuch time as they obey readily their maſter's voice, and perfectly underſtand his language.

Every one knows the uſe that was formerly made of theſe animals in battle. However, they frequently made greater havoc in the army to which they belonged, than in that of the enemy. Their teeth or rather tuſks, furniſh us with ivory. But it is time to return to Alexander.

[s] This prince having entered India *, all the petty kings of theſe countries came to meet him, and make their ſubmiſſions. They declared that he was the third ſon of Jupiter †, who had arrived in their country: That they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwiſe than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happineſs to ſee him, and to enjoy his preſence. The king received them with the utmoſt humanity, commanding them to accompany him, and ſerve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephaeſtion and Perdiccas with part of his forces, com-

[s] Quint. Curt. l. viii. c. 9—14. Arrian. l. iv. p. 182—195. l. v. p. 195—221. Plut. in Alex. p. 697—699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 557—559. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 7, 8.

* Quintus Curtius ſuppoſes, that ſeveral countries on the other ſide of the Indus, but adjacent to that river, belonged to India, and made part of it.

† Could theſe Greek names of gods be known to the Indians?

manding them to ſubdue all who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit. But, finding he was obliged to croſs ſeveral rivers, he cauſed boats to be built in ſuch a form, that they could be taken to pieces; the ſeveral parts of them to be carried upon waggons, and afterwards put together again. Then having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himſelf marched before, with his cavalry and light-armed troops; and, after a ſlight engagement, he defeated thoſe who had dared to make head againſt him, and purſued them to the next city, into which they fled. Craterus being come up, the king, in order to terrify, on a ſudden, thoſe nations who had not yet felt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his ſoldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he beſieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants of it to the ſword. But as he was going round the walls on horſeback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithſtanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havoc of all the ſoldiers and inhabitants, and did not ſo much as ſpare the houſes.

After ſubduing this nation, which was of great conſequence, he marched towards the city of Nyſa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a foreſt that hid it. In the mean time, it grew ſo very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt ſo exceſſive a chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was near at hand. They felled a great number of trees, and lighted up ſeveral fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The beſieged having attempted a ſally with ill ſucceſs, a faction aroſe in the city, ſome being of opinion, that it would be beſt for them to ſurrender, whilſt others were for holding out the ſiege. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any further injury; till at laſt, tired out with the length of the ſiege, they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army, for ſix days together, celebrated games, and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worſhipped.

† He marched from thence to a country called Daedala, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for ſhelter to inacceſſible mountains, as alſo thoſe of Acadera, into which he afterwards entered. This obliged him to change his method of war, and to diſperſe his forces in different places; by which means the enemy were all defeated at once: No reſiſtance was made any where, and thoſe who were ſo courageous as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took ſeveral little cities the inſtant he ſat down before them: Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, paſſed the river * Choaſpes, and left Coenus to beſiege a rich and populous city, called Bazica by the inhabitants.

He afterwards marched towards Magoſa, whoſe king, called Aſſacanus, was lately dead, and Cleophes, his mother, ruled the province and city. There were thirty thouſand foot in it, and both nature and art ſeemed to have united their endeavours in raiſing their fortifications; for towards the eaſt, it is ſurrounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which are ſteep, and difficult of acceſs, and on the weſt are high, craggy rocks, at the foot whereof are caves, which, through length of time, had increaſed into a kind of abyſſes; and where theſe fail, a trench of an aſtoniſhing height is raiſed with incredible labour.

Whilſt Alexander was going round the city, to view its fortifications, he was ſhot by an arrow in the calf of his leg: but he only pulled out the weapon; and without ſo much as binding up the wound, mounted his horſe, and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him to great pain, it is related that he cried, † "Every one "ſwears that I am the ſon of Jupiter; but my wound makes "me ſenſible that I am a man." However, he did not leave the place till he had ſeen every thing, and given all the neceſ-

† A. M. 3677. Ant. J. C. 327.

* This is not the Choaſpes which runs by Suſa.

† Omnes jurant me jovis eſſe filium; ſed vulnus hoc hominem eſſe me clamat. Senec. Epiſt. lix.

fary orders. Some of the ſoldiers, therefore, demoliſhed ſuch houſes as ſtood without the city, and with the rubbiſh of them they filled up the gulfs above mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge ſtones into them; and all laboured with ſo much vigour, that in nine days the works were completed, and the towers were raiſed upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, viſited the works; and after applauding the ſoldiers for their great diſpatch, he cauſed the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were diſcharged againſt thoſe who defended the walls. But that which moſt terrified the Barbarians was thoſe towers of a vaſt height, which ſeemed to them to move of themſelves. This made them imagine that they were made to advance by the gods, and that thoſe battering-rams which beat down walls, and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never ſeen, could not be the effect of human ſtrength; ſo that, perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themſelves more ſecure there, they ſent ambaſſadors to propoſe a ſurrender. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of ſacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and reſtored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polyſperchon was ſent with an army to beſiege the city of Ora, which he ſoon took. Moſt of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition, that Hercules having beſieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the ſiege. There are not in this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of eaſy acceſs; but it riſes like a bank; and being very wide at bottom, grows narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whoſe ſource is not far from this place, flows at the bottom, its ſides being perpendicular and high; and on the other ſide were vaſt moraſſes, which it was neceſſary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians they were near a foreſt. This the king had cut down, commanding his ſoldiers to carry off nothing but the

trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with the leſs difficulty; and he himſelf threw the firſt trunk into the moraſs. The army ſeeing this, ſhouted for joy; and every ſoldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finiſhed in ſeven days; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the king to expoſe himſelf on this occaſion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no ſooner ſounded, but this prince, who was not maſter of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himſelf firſt climbing the rock. At this ſight it appeared no longer inacceſſible, and every one flew after him. Never were ſoldiers expoſed to greater danger; but they were all reſolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whoſe whirlpools ſwallowed them up. The Barbarians rolled great ſtones on the foremoſt, who being ſcarce able to keep upon their feet, the rock was ſo ſlippery, fell down the precipices, and were daſhed to pieces. No fight could poſſibly be more diſmal than this; the king, greatly afflicted at the loſs of ſo many brave ſoldiers, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded. Nevertheleſs, though he had loſt all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raiſe the ſiege, he acted as if he intended to continue it, and acccordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers and other engines. The beſieged, by way of inſult, made great rejoicings, and continued the feſtivity for two days and two nights, making the rock, and the whole neighbourhood, echo with the ſound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard, and the Macedonians were ſurpriſed to ſee every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed, that the Indians had lighted them to aſſiſt their flight, and to guide them the more eaſily in thoſe precipices, during the obſcurity of the night. Immediately the whole army, by Alexander's order, ſhouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives ſo much, that ſeveral of them fancying they ſaw the enemy, flung themſelves from the top of the rock, and periſhed miſerably. The king having ſo happily and unexpectedly poſſeſſed himſelf of the

rock, in an almoſt miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered ſacrifices in their honour.

From hence he marched and took Ecbolimus; and after ſixteen days march arrived at the river Indus, where he found that Hephaeſtion had got all things ready for his paſſage, purſuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, called Omphis, whoſe father died ſome time before, had ſent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithſtanding the Macedonian told him he might, he nevertheleſs delayed putting it on till his arrival. He then went to meet him with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he puſhed forward his horſe, came up ſingly to him, and the king did the ſame. The Indian then told him by an interpreter, "That he was "come to meet him at the head of his army, in order to de- "liver up all his forces into his hands. That he ſurrendered "his perſon and his kingdom to a monarch, who he was "ſenſible fought only with the view of acquiring glory, and "dreaded nothing ſo much as treachery." The king, greatly ſatisfied with the frankneſs of the Barbarian, gave him his hand, and reſtored him his kingdoms. He then made Alexander a preſent of fifty-ſix elephants, and a great number of other animals of a prodigious ſize. Alexander aſking him which were moſt neceſſary to him, huſbandmen or ſoldiers? he replied, that as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greateſt ſervice to him. Theſe two monarchs were Abiſares and Porus, the latter of whom were moſt powerful, and the dominions of both were ſituated on the other ſide of the Hydaſpes. Omphis aſſumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxilus, by which the kings of that country were called. He made magnificent preſents to Alexander, who did not ſuffer himſelf to be exceeded in generoſity.

The next day, ambaſſadors from Abiſares waiting upon the king, ſurrendered up to him, purſuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their ſovereign; and after each party had promiſed fidelity on both ſides, they returned back.

Alexander expecting that Porus, aſtoniſhed with the report

of his glory, would not fail to ſubmit to him, ſent a meſſage to that prince, as if he had been his vaſſal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus anſwered with great coldneſs, that he would do ſo, but it ſhould be ſword in hand. At the ſame time a reinforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great ſervice, were ſent to Alexander. He gave the ſuperintendence of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaſpes. Porus was encamped on the other ſide of it, in order to diſpute the paſſage with him; and had poſted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious ſize, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thouſand foot; not having, at moſt, above ſeven thouſand horſe. This prince was mounted on an elephant of a much larger ſize than any of the reſt, and he himſelf exceeded the uſual ſtature of men; ſo that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and ſilver, he appeared at the ſame time terrible and majeſtic. The greatneſs of his courage equalled that of his ſtature, and he was as wiſe and prudent as it was poſſible for the monarch of ſo barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to paſs. It was four furlongs wide, about four hundred fathoms, and ſo deep in every part, that it looked like a ſea, and was no where fordable. It was vaſtly impetuous, notwithſtanding its great breadth; for it rolled with as much violence, as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, diſcovered that it was full of ſtones and rocks. However, nothing was ſo dreadful as the appearance of the ſhore, which was quite covered with men, horſes, and elephants. Thoſe hideous animals ſtood like ſo many towers; and the Indians exaſperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made, might fill the enemy with greater terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whoſe courage was proof againſt all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperities; but then they did not think it would be poſſible for them, as their barks were ſo crazy, to ſurmount the rapidity of the ſtream, or land with ſafety.

This river was full of little iſlands, to which the Indians and Macedonians uſed to ſwim, with their arms over their heads; and ſlight ſkirmiſhes were every day fought in the ſight of the two kings, who were well pleaſed to make thoſe ſmall excurſions of their reſpective forces, and to form a judgment from ſuch ſkirmiſhes, of the ſucceſs of a general battle. There were two young officers in Alexander's army, Egeſimachus and Nicanor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, having been ever ſucceſsful, deſpiſed dangers of every kind. They took with them the braveſt youths in the whole army: And, with no other weapons than their javelins, ſwam to an iſland in which ſeveral of the enemy were landed; where, with ſcarce any other aſſiſtance but their intrepidity, they made a great ſlaughter. After this bold ſtroke, they might have retired with glory, were it poſſible for raſhneſs, when ſucceſsful, to keep within bounds. But as they waited with contempt and an inſulting air, for thoſe who came to ſuccour their companions, they were ſurrounded by a band of ſoldiers, who ſwam unperceived to the iſland, and overwhelmed with the darts which they ſhot from far. Thoſe who endeavoured to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, were either carried away by the waves, or ſwallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who ſaw all this from the ſhore, was ſurpriſingly increaſed by this ſucceſs.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not paſs the Hydaſpes by force of arms, he therefore reſolved to have recourſe to artifice. Accordingly he cauſed his cavalry to attempt ſeveral times to paſs it in the night, and to ſhout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpoſe. Immediately Porus hurried thither with his elephants; but Alexander continued in battle-array on the bank. This ſtratagem having been attempted ſeveral times, and Porus finding the whole but mere noiſe and empty menaces, he took no further notice of theſe motions, and only ſent ſcouts to every part of the ſhore. Alexander being now no longer apprehenſive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him in his attempting to croſs the river in the night, began to reſolve ſeriouſly to paſs it.

There was in this river, at a conſiderable diſtance from Alexander's camp, an iſland of a greater extent than any of the reſt. This being covered with trees, was very proper for him to cover and conceal his deſign, and therefore he reſolved to attempt the paſſage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive them on this occaſion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army, with orders for them to make a great noiſe, at a certain time which ſhould be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to croſs the river; but that he would not attempt this, till ſuch time as Porus ſhould have raiſed his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards thoſe Macedonians who ſhould attempt the paſſage. Between the camp and the iſland he had poſted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horſe and foot, with orders for them to paſs over in bodies, the inſtant they ſhould ſee him engaged in battle.

After giving theſe orders, he took the reſt of his army, as well cavalry as infantry; and, wheeling off from the ſhore, in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night time towards the iſland into which he was reſolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander cauſed his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was oppoſite to that of Porus. His life guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp and ſplendor with which the majeſty of a great king is uſually ſurrounded. He alſo cauſed a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the ſame age with himſelf, and ſo much reſembled the king, both in ſtature and features, eſpecially at ſo great a diſtance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might ſuppoſe Alexander himſelf was on the bank, and was attempting the paſſage in that place. He however was by this time got to the iſland above mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the reſt of his troops, whilſt the enemy was employed in oppoſing Craterus. But now a furious ſtorm aroſe, which ſeemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of advantage to it; for ſo fortunate was this prince, that obſtacles changed into advantages and ſuccours in his favour: The ſtorm was ſucceeded

by a very violent ſhower, with impetuous winds, flaſhes of lightning and thunder; inſomuch that there was no hearing or ſeeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his deſign; but he, on the contrary, was animated by danger, not to mention that the noiſe, the confuſion, and the darkneſs, aſſiſted his paſſage. He thereupon made the ſignal for the embarkation of his troops, and went off himſelf in the firſt boat. It is reported, that it was on this occaſion he cried out, "O "Athenians, could you think I would expoſe myſelf to ſuch "dangers to merit your applauſe!" And, indeed, nothing could contribute more to eternize his name, than the having his actions recorded by ſuch great hiſtorians as Thucydides and Xenophon [u]; and ſo anxious was he about the character which would be given him after his death, that he wiſhed it were poſſible for him to return again into the world only ſo long as was neceſſary to know what kind of impreſſion the peruſal of his hiſtory made on the minds of men.

Scarce any perſon appeared to oppoſe their deſcent, becauſe Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppoſe his paſſage. Immediately this general, purſuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and ſeemed to attempt the paſſage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to ſhore, one excepted, which the waves daſhed to pieces againſt a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, conſiſting of ſix thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. He himſelf headed the latter; and having commanded the foot to make all imaginable diſpatch after him, he marched before. It was his firm opinion, that in caſe the Indians ſhould oppoſe him with their whole force, his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them; and that, be this as it would, he might eaſily continue fighting till his foot ſhould come up; or, that in caſe the enemy, alarmed at the news of his paſſing, ſhould fly, it would then be in his power to purſue, and make a great ſlaughter of them.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had paſſed the river,

[u] Lucian. de conſcrib. hiſt. p. 694.

had ſent againſt him a detachment, commanded by one of his ſons, of two thouſand horſe, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at firſt to be the enemy's vanguard, and that the whole army was behind them; but, being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with ſuch vigour, that Porus's ſon was killed upon the ſpot, with four hundred horſes; and all the chariots were taken. Each of theſe chariots carried ſix men; two were armed with bucklers; two bowmen ſat on each ſide; and two guided the chariot, who nevertheleſs always fought when the battle grew warm, having a great number of darts, which they diſcharged at the enemy. But all theſe did little execution that day, becauſe the rain, which fell in great abundance, had moiſtened the earth to ſuch a degree, that the horſes could ſcarce ſtand upon their legs; and the chariots being very heavy, moſt of them ſunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his ſon, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his poſt, becauſe Craterus, with the reſt of the Macedonian army, made a feint as if they intended to paſs the river. However, he at laſt reſolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he juſtly ſuppoſed to be at the head of the choiceſt troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuſe thoſe who were poſted on the oppoſite ſhore, he ſet out with thirty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, three thouſand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, ſandy ſoil, in which his horſes and chariots might wheel about with eaſe, he drew up his army in battle array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He poſted in front, and on the firſt line, all the elephants at an hundred feet diſtance one from the other, in order that they might ſerve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in theſe intervals, becauſe of the fear thoſe horſes would have of the elephants; and much leſs the infantry, when they ſhould ſee that of the enemy poſted behind the elephants;

and in danger of being trode to pieces by thoſe animals. He had poſted ſome of his foot on the ſame line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and his infantry was covered by his two wings of horſe, before which the chariots were poſted. Such was the order and diſpoſition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in ſight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmoſt diligence, and arrived a little after: And in order that they might have time to take breath, and not to be led, as they were very much fatigued, againſt the enemy, he cauſed his horſe to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having ſufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the ſignal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were poſted, for the very reaſon which had made Porus draw them up in that manner: But his cavalry being ſtronger, he drew out the greateſt part of them; and marching againſt the left wing, ſent Coenus with his own regiment of horſe, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the ſame time; ordering him to attack that cavalry on the left, behind; during which he himſelf would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to ſtir from their poſts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into diſorder.

Being come within arrow ſhot, he detached a thouſand bowmen on horſeback, with orders for them to make their diſcharge on the horſe of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into diſorder, whilſt he himſelf ſhould charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having joined again their ſquadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compaſs, advanced againſt Alexander. At that inſtant Coenus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; inſomuch that the Indians were obliged to face about on all ſides, to defend themſelves from the thouſand bowmen, and againſt Alexander and Coenus. Alexander, to make the beſt advantage of the confuſion into which this ſudden attack had

thrown them, charged with great vigour thoſe that made head againſt him, who being no longer able to ſtand ſo violent an attack, were ſoon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance againſt the enemy's horſe; but, that very inſtant, the Macedonian phalanx, moving on a ſudden, ſurrounded thoſe animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themſelves and their leaders. This battle was very different from all thoſe which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants ruſhing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpreſſible fury, the thickeſt of them; when the Indian horſe, ſeeing the Macedonian foot ſtopped by the elephants, returned to the charge: However, that of Alexander being ſtronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a ſecond time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horſe being all united in one body, ſpread terror and confuſion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greateſt part having loſt their leaders, they did not obſerve their uſual order; but, diſtracted as it were with pain, no longer diſtinguiſhed friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purpoſely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts thoſe that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having ſurrounded the enemy with his horſe, made a ſignal to his foot to march up with all imaginable ſpeed, in order to make a laſt effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force; all which they executed very ſucceſsfully. In this manner the greateſt part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which ſuſtained no leſs loſs, ſeeing themſelves charged on all ſides, at laſt fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the reſt of his army, ſeeing Alexander engaged with Porus, croſſed the river, and charging the routed ſoldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians loſt on this occaſion twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; not to mention the chariots, which were all broke to pieces, and the elephants, that were either killed or taken. Porus's two ſons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province; all the colonels of horſe and foot, and thoſe who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he loſt but fourſcore of the ſix thouſand ſoldiers who were at the firſt charge, ten bowmen of the horſe, twenty of his horſe-guards, and two hundred common ſoldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a ſoldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, ſeeing all his horſe defeated, and the greateſt part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius, who, on a like diſaſter, was the firſt that fled: On the contrary, he continued in the field as long as one battalion or ſquadron ſtood their ground; but at laſt, having received a wound in the ſhoulder, he retired upon his elephant, and was eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the greatneſs of his ſtature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander, finding who he was by thoſe glorious marks, and being deſirous of ſaving this king, ſent Taxilus after him, becauſe he was of the ſame nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to ſtop, in order to hear the meſſage he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and ſeeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy, "How!" ſays he, "is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor "to his country and kingdom?" Immediately after which, he would have transfixed him with his dart, had he not inſtantly retired. Notwithſtanding this, Alexander was ſtill deſirous to ſave ſo brave a prince, and thereupon diſpatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who beſought him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to wait upon a conqueror altogether worthy of him. After much intreaty, Porus conſented, and accordingly ſet forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards in order to receive him with ſome of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander ſtopped, purpoſely to take a view of

his ſtature and noble mien, he being about five cubits in height *. Porus did not ſeem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a reſolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whoſe courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the eſteem of the brave prince who had taken him priſoner. Alexander ſpoke firſt; and with an auguſt and gracious air, aſked him how he deſired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus. "But," continued Alexander, "do you aſk no-"thing more?" "No," replied Porus; "all things are includ-"ed in that ſingle word." Alexander, ſtruck with this greatneſs of ſoul, the magnanimity of which ſeemed heightened by diſtreſs, did not only reſtore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the higheſt teſtimonies of honour, eſteem, and friendſhip. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to ſay, whether the victor or the vanquiſhed beſt deſerved praiſe on this occaſion.

Alexander built a city on the ſpot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had croſſed the river. He called the one Nicaea from his victory, and the other Bucephalon, in honour of his horſe, who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the laſt duties to ſuch of his ſoldiers as had loſt their lives in battle, he ſolemnized games, and offered up ſacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had paſſed the Hydaſpes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts; the eaſe with which he ſurmounts the greateſt obſtacles, and forces almoſt impregnable cities; the uninterrupted and unheard-of felicity that extricates him out of thoſe dangers into which his raſhneſs plunges him, and in which, one would have concluded, he muſt a hundred times have periſhed. But to unravel theſe myſterious kinds of events, ſeveral of which are repugnant to the uſual courſe of things, we muſt go back to a ſuperior cauſe, unknown to the profane hiſtorians, and to Alexander himſelf. This monarch was, like Cyrus, the miniſter and inſtrument of the ſovereign diſpoſer of empires, who raiſes and deſtroys them at pleaſure. He had received

* Seven foot and a half.

the ſame orders to overthrow the Perſian and eaſtern empires, as Cyrus to deſtroy that of Babylon. The ſame power conducted their enterpriſes, aſſured them of ſucceſs, protected and preſerved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commiſſion and completed their miniſtry. We may apply to Alexander the words which God ſpake to Cyrus in Iſaiah, "[u] Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden, to ſubdue nations "before him; and I will cauſe the loins of kings to open be- "fore him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be "ſhut: I will go before thee, and make the crooked paths "ſtraight; I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut "in ſunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee treaſures "of darkneſs, and hidden treaſures of ſecret places. I gird- "ed thee, though thou haſt not known me." This is the true and only cauſe of the incredible ſucceſs with which this conqueror was attended; of his unparalleled bravery; the affection his ſoldiers had for him, the foreknowledge of his felicity, and his aſſurance of ſucceſs, which aſtoniſhed his moſt intrepid captains.

SECTION XVI.

ALEXANDER advances into INDIA. He is expoſed to great DANGER at the SIEGE of OXYDRACAE.

ALEXANDER[x], after his famous victory over Porus, advanced into India, where he ſubdued a great many nations and cities. He looked upon himſelf as a conqueror by profeſſion as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with ſo much ardor and vivacity, that he ſeemed to fancy himſelf inveſted with a perſonal commiſſion, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to ſtorm all cities, to lay waſte all provinces, to extirpate all nations, which ſhould refuſe his yoke; and that he ſhould have conſidered himſelf as guilty of a crime, had he forbore viſiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terror and diſolation wherever he went. He paſſed

[u] Chap. xlv. 1—5.

[x] A. M. 3678, Ant. J. C. 326. Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1.

the Aceſines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two conſiderable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and among the reſt the Caytheans, who were the moſt valiant and moſt ſkillful of thoſe nations in the art of war; and that they were encamped near a ſtrong city, called Sangala. Alexander ſet out againſt theſe Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations.

[y] One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, ſome philoſophers, called Brachmans in the language of that country, were converſing together, as they were walking in a meadow. The inſtant they perceived him, they all ſtamped againſt the ground with their feet. Alexander, ſurpriſed at this extraordinary geſture, demanded the cauſe of it. They anſwered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, "That "no man poſſeſſed any more of that element than he could "enjoy: That the only difference between him and other "men, was, that he was more reſtleſs and ambitious than "they, and over-ran all ſeas and lands, merely to harm others "and himſelf: And yet—he would die at laſt, and poſſeſs no "greater part of the earth than was neceſſary for his inter-"ment." The king was not diſpleaſed with this anſwer: But he was hurried on by a torrent of glory; and his actions were the very reverſe of what he approved.

Theſe Brachmans, ſays Arrian, are in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but aſſiſt him with their counſel, and perform the ſame offices as the Magi do to the kings of Perſia. They aſſiſt at the public ſacrifices; and if a perſon deſires to ſacrifice in private, one of theſe muſt be preſent, otherwiſe the Indians are perſuaded they would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themſelves particularly to conſulting the ſtars; none but themſelves pretend to divination; and they foretel, chiefly, the change of weather and of the ſeaſons. If a Brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is ſilenced for ever.

[y] Arrian. l. vii. p. 275, 276. Id. in Indic. p. 324. Strab. l. xv. p. 715—717. Plut. in Alex. p. 701. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9.

Their ſentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from thoſe of the Greeks. They believe that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created by God, who preſides over, and fills it with his majeſty; and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the ſoul, and the puniſhment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing it, like that philoſopher, with ſome fictions, in order to expreſs or deſcribe thoſe puniſhments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks gave them the name of Gymnoſophiſts. Many incredible particulars are related concerning the auſterity of their lives, and their prodigious patience. Their only meat and drink is roots and water. As they admit the metempſychoſis, and believe that the ſouls of men tranſmigrate into thoſe of beaſts, they abſtain from the fleſh of animals. It is thought, that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the Brachmans. They continue whole days ſtanding with their faces towards the ſun, and that in the ſeaſon when this planet darts its rays with the greateſt violence. Perſuaded that it is beneath the dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himſelf oppreſſed by age or ſickneſs, they hold it glorious to prevent their laſt hour, and burn themſelves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to thoſe who die merely of old age; and imagine they would polute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to aſhes, ſhould they go into it otherwiſe than full of life and vigour. Other Brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities, and aſſociate with their own ſpecies; and ſo far from conſidering ſelf-murder as a virtuous or brave action, they look upon it as a weakneſs in man not to wait patiently the ſtroke of death, and as a crime to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires, in his Tuſculan queſtions, the invincible patience, not only of the Indian ſages, but alſo of the * wo-

* Mulieres in India, cum eſt cujuſque earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit: plures enim ſingulis ſolent eſſe nuptae. Quae eſt victrix, ea laeta, proſequentibus ſuis, una cum viro in rogum imponitur; illa victa, moeſta diſcedit. Tuſc. Queſt. l. v. n. 77.

men of that country, who uſed to conteſt for the honour of dying with their common huſband. This privilege was reſerved for that wife whom the huſband had loved moſt affectionately; and was given in her favour by the ſentence of perſons appointed for that purpoſe, who never gave a judgment till ſuch time as they made a ſtrict examination, and heard the allegations on all ſides. The wife on whom the preference was beſtowed, ran to meet death, and aſcended the funeral pile with incredible joy and patience; whilſt the ſurviving wives withdrew in the deepeſt tranſports of affliction, and with their eyes bathed in tears.

The deſcription which [z] Porphyrus has left us of theſe philoſophers, reſembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the Brachmans live on herbs, roots, and fruits. They abſtain from animals of every kind; and if they touch any, they thereby render themſelves unclean. They ſpend the greateſt part of the day and night in ſinging hymns in honour of their gods. They faſt and pray perpetually. The greateſt part of them live alone, and in the deepeſt ſolitude, and neither marry nor profeſs any thing. They wiſh for nothing ſo earneſtly as death; and conſidering this life as a burden, they wait impatiently for the moment when the ſoul will leave the body.

Theſe philoſophers exiſt ſtill in India, where they are called Bramins; and retain, in many points, the tradition and tenets of the ancient Brachmans.

Alexander, paſſing near a city wherein ſeveral of theſe Brachmans dwelt, was very deſirous to converſe with them, and, if poſſible, to prevail with ſome of them to follow him. Being informed that theſe philoſophers never made viſits, but that thoſe who had an inclination to ſee them muſt go to their houſes, he concluded, that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them, and not juſt to force theſe ſages to any thing contrary to their laws and uſages. Oneſicritus, who was a great philoſopher, and had been a diſciple of Diogenes the Cynic, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the city, with fifteen Brachmans, who from morning till evening ſtood

[z] Lib. de Abſtin. Animal.

always naked, in the ſame poſture in which they at firſt had placed themſelves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addreſſed himſelf firſt to Calanus, and told him the occaſion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Oneſicritus's clothes and ſhoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, " That anciently the earth had been co-" vered with barley and wheat, as it was at that time with " duſt; that, beſides water, the rivers uſed to flow with milk, " honey, oil, and wine: That man's guilt had occaſioned a " change of this happy condition; and that Jupiter, to puniſh " their ingratitude, had ſentenced him to a long, painful " labour. That their repentance afterwards moving him to " compaſſion, he had reſtored them their former abundance. " However, that by the courſe of things, they ſeemed to be " returning to their ancient confuſion." This relation ſhews evidently, that theſe philoſophers had ſome notion of the felicity of the firſt man, and of the evil to which he had been ſentenced for his ſins.

After this firſt converſation, Oneſicritus ſpoke to Mandanis the chief, and as it were the ſuperior of the band. This Brachman ſaid, " That he thought Alexander worthy of admiration, " in ſeeking thus for wiſdom in the midſt of the cares of his " government: * That he was the firſt who had ever united " in himſelf the two characters of conqueror and philoſopher; " that it were to be wiſhed that the latter character were the " attribute of thoſe who could inſpire the wiſdom which they " themſelves poſſeſſed, and command it by their authority." He added, that he could not conceive the motive which had prompted Alexander to undertake ſo long and laborious a journey, nor what he came in ſearch of in ſo remote a country.

Oneſicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their auſtere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, ſaying, that they would find in him a generous maſter and benefactor, who would heap upon them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Mandanis, aſſuming a haughty philoſophical tone, anſwered, " That he did not want Alexander, and was the ſon " of Jupiter as well as himſelf: That he was exempted from

* Μόνον γὰρ ἴδοι αὐτὸν ἐν ὅπλοις φιλοσοφοῦντα.

" want, desire, or fear: That so long as he should live, the " earth would furnish him all things necessary for his subsist- " ence; and that death would rid him of a troublesome com- " panion, meaning his body, and set him at full liberty." Calanus appeared more tractable; and, notwithstanding the opposition, and even the prohibition of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonstrations of joy.

We find by history, that this people used often to employ parables and similitudes for conveying their thoughts. One day as he was discoursing with Alexander, upon the maxims of wise policy and a prudent administration, he exhibited to that prince a sensible image, and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox hide, which was very dry and shrunk up, and then set his foot upon one end of it. The hide, being pressed so, gave way, and all the other ends flew up: Going thus quite round the hide, and pressing the several ends of it, he made him observe, that whilst he lowered it on one side, all the rest rose up, till, treading at last upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all sides. By this image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to reside in the centre of his dominions, and not undertake such long journies. We shall soon shew the reader the manner in which this philosopher ended his days.

[a] Alexander being determined to continue the war as long as he should meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies whilst they should live independent on him, was meditating about passing the Hyphasus. He was told, that, after passing that river, he must travel eleven days through deserts, and that then he would arrive at the Ganges, the greatest river in all India. That farther in the country lived the Gangaridae and the Prasii, whose king was preparing to oppose his entering his dominions, at the head of twenty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, reinforced by two

[a] Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1—9. Arrian. l. v. p. 221—234. et l. vi. p. 255—259. Plut. in Alex. p. 699, 701. Diod. l. xvii. p. 559—570. Justin. l. xii. c. 9, 10.

thouſand chariots; and, which ſtruck the greateſt terror, with three thouſand elephants. A report of this being ſpread through the army, ſurpriſed all the ſoldiers, and raiſed a general murmur. The Macedonians, who, after having travelled through ſo many countries, and being grown grey in the field, were inceſſantly directing their eyes and wiſhes towards their dear native country, made loud complaints, that Alexander ſhould every day heap war upon war, and danger on danger. They had undergone, but juſt before, inexpreſſible fatigues, having been expoſed to rain, accompanied with ſtorms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in ſuch terms as raiſed compaſſion; others inſolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and that ſecret aſſemblies were formed in his camp, to prevent the ill conſequences of them, ſent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the ſoldiers together, he made the following ſpeech: "I am not ignorant, O ſoldiers, that the In-
"dians have publiſhed ſeveral things, purpoſely to terrify us;
"but ſuch diſcourſes and artifices are not unuſual to you.
"Thus the Perſians deſcribed the ſtraits at Cilicia, the vaſt
"plains of Meſopotamia, the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, as
"ſo many inſurmountable difficulties; and yet your bravery
"conquered them. Do you repent that you have followed
"me thus far? As your glorious deeds have ſubdued for you
"a multitude of provinces, as you have extended your con-
"queſts beyond the Iaxarthes and mount Caucaſus; as you
"ſee the rivers of India flow through the midſt of your em-
"pire; why are you afraid of croſſing the Hyphaſus, and of
"ſetting up your trophies on the banks of it, as on thoſe of
"the Hydaſpes? What! can the elephants, whoſe number is
"ſo falſely augmented, terrify you to ſuch a degree? But has
"not experience taught you, that they are more deſtructive
"to their own maſters than to the enemy? Endeavours are
"uſed to intimidate you by the dreadful idea of innumerable
"armies; but are they more numerous than thoſe of Darius?
"It is ſure too late for you to count the legions of the ene-

" my, after your victories have made Aſia a deſert. It was " when you croſſed the Helleſpont that you ought to have " reflected on the ſmall number of your forces: But now the " Scythians form part of our army; the Bactrians, the Sog- " dians, and the Dahae are with us, and fight for our glory. " I however, do not depend on thoſe Barbarians. It is on " you only that I rely; your victorious arms only are preſent " to my imagination; and your courage alone aſſures me ſuc- " ceſs. So long as I ſhall be ſurrounded with you in fight, I " ſhall not have any occaſion to count the number of my " troops, nor that of the enemy, provided you go on to bat- " tle with the ſame marks of joy and confidence you have " hitherto diſcovered. Not only our glory, but even our " ſafety is at ſtake. Should we now retreat, it will be ſup- " poſed that we fly before our enemies; and from that mo- " ment we ſhall appear as mean as the enemy will be judged " formidable; for you are ſenſible, that in war reputation is " every thing. It is in my power to make uſe of authority, " and yet I employ entrealies only. Do not abandon, I con- " jure you, I do not ſay your king and maſter, but your pupil " and companion in battles. Do not break to pieces in my " hand that glorious palm, which will ſoon, unleſs envy rob " me of ſo great a glory, equal me to Hercules and to Bac- " chus." As the ſoldiers ſtood with their eyes caſt on the ground, and did not once open their lips—" What!" continued he, " do I then ſpeak to the deaf? Will no one liſten " to me, nor condeſcend to anſwer? Alas! I am abandoned, " I am betrayed, I am delivered up to the enemy. But—I " will advance ſtill farther, though I go alone. The Scythi- " ans and Bactrians, more faithful than you, will follow me " whitherſoever I lead them. Return then to your country, " and boaſt, ye deſerters of your king, that you have aban- " doned him. As for myſelf, I will here meet either with the " victory you deſpair of, or with a glorious death, which hence- " forwards ought to be the ſole object of my wiſhes."

Notwithſtanding this lively, pathetic ſpeech, the ſoldiers ſtill kept a profound ſilence. They waited in expectation of hear-

ing their commanders and chief officers remonſtrate to the king. that their affection was as ſtrongas ever; but that as their bodies were covered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would be impoſſible for them to continue the war. However, not one of them preſumed to adreſs him in their favour. The example of Clitus, and that of Calliſthenes, were ſtill recent. The officers, who were then with him, had an hundred times ventured their lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the courage to hazard the loſing of their fortunes by telling him the truth. Whilſt therefore the ſoldiers, as well as officers, continued dumb, without once daring to liſt up their eyes, there roſe on a ſudden a murmur, which increaſing by inſenſible degrees, broke into ſuch deep groans and floods of tears, that the king himſelf, whoſe anger was now changed into compaſſion, could not forbear weeping.

At laſt, whilſt the whole aſſembly were in tears, and in deep ſilence, Coenus took courage and drew near to the throne, diſcovering by his air and action, that he deſired to ſpeak. And when the ſoldiers ſaw him take off his helmet, that being the cuſtom when any perſon ſpoke to the king, they beſought him to plead the cauſe of the army; and accordingly he ſpoke as follows: "No, Sir, we are not changed with regard to our af- "fection for you: God forbid that ſo great a calamity ſhould "ever befall us. We ſhall always retain the ſame zeal, the "ſame affection and fidelity. We are ready to follow you at "the hazard of our lives, and to march whitherſoever you ſhall "think fit to lead us. But if your ſoldiers may be allowed to "lay before you their ſentiments ſincerely, and without diſ- "guiſe, they beſeech you to condeſcend ſo far as to give ear to "their reſpectful complaints, which nothing but the moſt ex- "treme neceſſity could have extorted from them. The great- "neſs, Sir, of your exploits has conquered, not only your ene- "mies but even your ſoldiers themſelves. We have done all "that it was poſſible for men to do. We have croſſed ſeas and "lands. We ſhall ſoon have marched to the end of the world; "and you are meditating the conqueſt of another, by going in "ſearch of new Indies, unknown to the Indians themſelves,

" Such a thought may be worthy of your valour; but it ſurpaſſes " ours, and our ſtrength ſtill more. Behold thoſe ghaſtly faces, " and thoſe bodies covered over with wounds and ſcars. You " are ſenſible how numerous we were at your firſt ſetting out; " and you ſee what now remains of us. The few, who have " eſcaped ſo many toils and dangers, are neither brave nor " ſtrong enough to follow you. All of them long to reviſit " their relations and country, and to enjoy in peace the fruit " of their labours and your victories. Forgive them a deſire " natural to all men. It will be glorious, Sir, for you to have " fixed ſuch boundaries to your fortune, as only your mode- " ration could preſcribe you; and to have vanquiſhed yourſelf, " after having conquered all your enemies."

Coenus had no ſooner ſpoke, but there were heard, on all ſides, cries and confuſed voices intermixed with tears, calling upon the king, as " their lord and father." Afterwards, all the reſt of the officers, eſpecially thoſe who aſſumed a greater authority becauſe of their age, and for that reaſon could be better excuſed the freedom they took, made the ſame humble requeſt: But ſtill the king would not comply with it. It muſt coſt a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himſelf, to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore ſhut himſelf up two days in his tent, without once ſpeaking to any one, not even to his moſt familiar friends, in order to ſee whether ſome change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on ſuch occaſions. But, finding it would be impoſſible to change the reſolution of the ſoldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpreſſible joy; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he deſigned, for the ſake of his ſubjects, to ſacrifice ſome part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp echoed with praiſes and bleſſings of Alexander, for having ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by his own army, who was invincible to the reſt of the world. No triumph is comparable to thoſe acclamations and applauſes that come from the heart, and which are the lively and ſincere overflowings of it;

and it is great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not ſpent above three or four months, at moſt, in conquering all the country between the Indus and the Hyphaſus, called to this day Pengab, that is, the Five Waters, from the five rivers which compoſe it. Before his ſetting out, he raiſed twelve altars, to ſerve as ſo many trophies and thankſgivings for the victories he had obtained.

Theſe inſtances of gratitude, in regard to the gods, were attended with the moſt incredible marks of vanity. The altars which he erected in their honour were ſeventy-five feet high. He cauſed a camp to be marked out, three times as large again as his own, and ſurrounded it with foſſés fifty feet in depth by ten broad. He ordered the foot to prepare, and leave each in his tent two beds, ſeven feet and a half in length: And the cavalry to make mangers for the horſes of twice the uſual dimenſions. Every thing elſe was in proportion. Alexander's view in theſe orders, which flowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave poſterity monuments of his heroic and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed that himſelf and his followers were ſuperior to all other mortals.

He afterwards croſſed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphaſus. He alſo reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and ſettled a peace between them by means of an alliance, equally advantageous to both. [b] From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the Aceſines; but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp higher up. Here a fit of ſickneſs carried off Coenus, whoſe loſs was bewailed by the king and the whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians; and he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very peculiar manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of thoſe ſingularly good men, zealous for the public, all whoſe actions are free from ſelf-intereſted or ambitious views, and who bear ſo great a love to their king, as to dare to tell

[b] Arr. in Ind. p. 319. Strab. l. xv. p. 692.

him the truth, be the conſequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.

His fleet conſiſted of eight hundred veſſels, as well galleys as boats, to carry the troops and proviſions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked, about the ſetting of the Pleiades or ſeven ſtars, according to Ariſtobulus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day, the fleet arrived where the Hydaſpes and Aceſines mix their ſtreams. Here the ſhips were very much ſhattered, becauſe theſe rivers unite with ſuch prodigious rapidity, that as great ſtorms ariſe in this part as in the open ſea. At laſt he came into the country of the Oxydracae and the Malli, the moſt valiant people in thoſe parts. Theſe were perpetually at war one with another; but, having united for their mutual ſafety, they had drawn together ten thouſand horſe, and eighty thouſand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in ſeveral engagements, diſpoſſeſſed them of ſtrong holds, and at laſt marched againſt the city of the Oxydracae, whither the greateſt part were retired. Immediately he cauſes the ſcaling ladders to be ſet up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forces one of the ſcaling ladders from the ſoldier; runs up the firſt, covered with his ſhield, and gets to the top of the wall, followed only by Peuceſtes and Limneus. The ſoldiers, believing him to be in danger, mounted ſwiftly to ſuccour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, ſeeing himſelf the butt againſt which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was ſo raſh, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crowded with the enemy, having nothing to expect, but to be either taken or killed before it would be poſſible for him to riſe, and without once having an opportunity to defend himſelf, or revenge his death. But, happily for him, he poiſed his body in ſuch a manner that he fell upon his feet; and finding himſelf ſtanding, ſword in hand he repulſed ſuch as were neareſt him, and even killed the general of the enemy, who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a ſecond time, not far from

thence there ſtood a great tree, againſt the trunk of which he leaned, his ſhield receiving all the darts that were ſhot at him from a diſtance; for no one dared to approach him, ſo great was the dread which the boldneſs of the enterpriſe, and the fire that ſhot from his eyes, had ſtruck into the enemy. At laſt, an Indian let fly an arrow three feet long, that being the length of their arrows, which piercing his coat of mail, entered a conſiderable way into his body, a little above the right ſide. So great a quantity of blood iſſued from the wound, that he dropped his arms and lay as dead. Behold then this mighty conqueror [c], this vanquiſher of nations, upon the point of loſing his life, not at the head of his armies, but in a corner of an obſcure city, into which his raſhneſs had thrown him. The Indian, who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greateſt tranſports of joy, to ſtrip him; however, Alexander no ſooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but, fired with the thirſt of revenge, he recalled his ſpirits, and, laying hold of the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger into his ſide. Some of his chief officers, as Peuceſtes, Leonatus, and Timaeus, who had got to the top of the wall with ſome ſoldiers, came up that inſtant, and attempting impoſſibilities, for the ſake of ſaving their ſovereign's life, they form themſelves as a bulwark round his body, and ſuſtain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time, the ſoldiers who had climbed up with the officers above mentioned, having broke the bolts of a little gate ſtanding between two towers, they by that means let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex.

The firſt care they took was to carry Alexander into his tent. Being got into it, the * ſurgeons cut off, ſo very dextetouſly, the wood of the ſhaft which had been ſhot into his body, that they did not move the ſteel point; and, after undreſſing him, they found it was a † bearded arrow; and that

c Plut. de fortun, Alex. p. 344.

* In theſe ages they and phyſicians were the ſame thing.

† So arrows are called that have beards at their points like fiſh-hooks. Animadvertunt hamos ineſſe telo.

it could not be pulled out, without danger, unleſs the wound were widened. The king bore the operation with incredible reſolution, ſo that there was no occaſion for people to hold him. The inciſion being made, and the arrow drawn out, ſo great an effuſion of blood enſued, that the king fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the blood being ſtopped, he recovered by degrees, and knew the perſons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent; and would not ſtir from their poſts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little reſt.

At the end of the ſeven days he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was cloſed, as he knew that the report of his death increaſed among the Barbarians, he cauſed two veſſels to be joined together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in ſight of every one; purpoſely to ſhew himſelf to thoſe who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects, and the hopes with which they flattered themſelves. He afterwards went down the river, going before, at ſome diſtance from the reſt of the fleet, for fear leſt the noiſe of the oars ſhould keep him from ſleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the ſoldiers, who were upon guard, brought him his litter, but he refuſed it, and, calling for his horſe, mounted him. At this ſight, all the ſhore, and the neighbouring foreſts echoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they ſaw him riſe, in a manner, from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, ſurrounded with a great number of ſoldiers, ſome of whom kiſſed his hands, whilſt others claſped his knees; others again were contented with only touching his clothes, and with ſeeing him; but all in general burſt into tears, and calling for a thouſand bleſſings from heaven, wiſhed him long life, and an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity.

At this inſtant deputies came from the Malli, with the chiefs of the Oxydracae, being one hundred and ſixty, beſides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him

preſents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuſe for not having done it before, their ſtrong love of liberty. They declared, that they were ready to receive for their governor whomſoever he pleaſed to nominate; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hoſtages. He demanded a thouſand of the chief perſons of their nation, whom he alſo might make uſe of in war, till he had ſubjected all the country. They put into his hands ſuch of their countrymen as were handſomeſt and beſt ſhapped, with five hundred chariots, though not demanded by him; at which the king was ſo much pleaſed, that he gave them back their hoſtages, and appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embaſſy, and found his ſtrength increaſe daily, taſted with ſo much the greater pleaſure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have loſt them for ever. His chief courtiers and moſt intimate friends thought it a proper juncture, during this calm and ſerenity of his mind, for them to unboſom themſelves, and expoſe their fears to him: It was Craterus ſpoke on this occaſion. "We begin, royal Sir, to breath and live, now "we find you in the condition to which the goodneſs of the "gods has reſtored you. But how great were our fears and "our griefs! How ſeverely did we reproach ourſelves, for "having abandoned, in ſuch an extremity, our king, our fa"ther! It was not in our power to follow him; but this did "not extenuate our guilt; and we look upon ourſelves as cri"minals, in not having attempted impoſſibilities for your ſake. "But, Sir, never plunge us in ſuch deep affliction hereafter. "Does a wretched paltry town deſerve to be bought at ſo "dear a price as the loſs of your life? Leave thoſe petty ex"ploits and enterpriſes to us, and preſerve your perſon for "ſuch occaſions only as are worthy of you. We ſtill ſhudder "with horror, when we reflect on what we ſo lately were "ſpectators of. We have ſeen the moment when the moſt "abject hands upon earth were going to ſeize the greateſt "prince in the univerſe, and deſpoil him of his royal robes. "Permit us, Sir, to ſay, you are not your own maſter, but

" that you owe yourself to us: We have a right over your " life, since ours depends on it; and we dare take the free- " dom to conjure you, as being your subjects and your children, " to be more careful of so precious a life, if not for your own " sake, at least for ours, and for the felicity of the universe."

The king was strongly touched with these testimonies of their affection; and having embraced them severally with inexpressible tenderness, he answered as follows: " I cannot " enough thank all present, who are the flower of my citizens " and friends, not only for your having this day preferred my " safety to your own, but also for the strong proofs you have " given me of your zeal and affection, from the beginning of " this war: And if any thing is capable of making me wish " for a longer life, it is the pleasure of enjoying, for years to " come, such valuable friends as you. But give me leave to " observe, that in some cases we differ very much in opinion. " You wish to enjoy me long; and even, if it were possible, " for ever; but, as to myself, I compute the length of my ex- " istence, not by years, but by glory. I might have confined " my ambition within the narrow limits of Macedonia; and, " contented with the kingdom my ancestors left me, have " waited, in the midst of pleasures and indolence, an inglori- " ous old age. I own, that if my victories, not my years, " are computed, I shall seem to have lived long; but can you " imagine, that after having made Europe and Asia but one " empire, after having conquered the two noblest parts of the " world, in the tenth year of my reign and the thirtieth of " my age, that it will become me to stop in the midst of so " exalted a career, and discontinue the pursuit of glory, to " which I have entirely devoted myself? Know, that this glo- " ry enobles all things, and gives a true and solid grandeur " to whatever appears insignificant. In what place soever I " may fight, I shall fancy myself upon the stage of the world, " and in presence of all mankind. I confess that I have a- " chieved mighty things hitherto; but the country we are now " in reproaches me, that a woman has done still greater. It is " Semiramis I mean. How many nations did she conquer!

" How many cities were built by her! What magnificent and " ſtupendous works did ſhe finiſh! How ſhameful is it that " I ſhould not yet have attained to ſo exalted a pitch of glo- " ry! Do but ſecond my ardor, and I ſhall ſoon ſurpaſs her. " Defend me only from ſecret cabals and domeſtic treaſons, " by which moſt princes loſe their lives: I take the reſt upon " myſelf, and will be anſwerable to you for all the events of " the war."

This ſpeech gives us a perfect idea of Alexander's character. He had no notion of true glory. He did not know either the principle, the rule, or end of it. He certainly placed it where it was not. He was ſtrongly prejudiced in vulgar error, and cheriſhed it. He fancied himſelf born merely for glory; and that none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjuſt, and irregular conduct. In his impetuous ſallies after a miſtaken glory, he followed neither reaſon, virtue, nor humanity; and, as if his ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and ſtandard to all other men, he was ſupriſed that neither his officers nor ſoldiers would enter into his views; and they lent themſelves very unwillingly to ſupport his ridiculous enterpriſes.

Alexander, after having ended his ſpeech, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and continued encamped for ſeveral days in this place. He afterwards went upon the river, and his army marched after him upon the banks. He then came among the Sabracae, a powerful nation of Indians. Theſe had levied ſixty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, and reinforced them with five hundred chariots; however, the arrival of Alexander ſpread a terror through the whole country, and accordingly they ſent ambaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſion. After having built another city, which he alſo called Alexandria, he arrived in the territories of Muſicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in thoſe of the king of Samus. At the ſiege of one of this king's towns, Ptolemy was dangerouſly wounded; for the Indians had poiſoned all their arrows and ſwords, ſo that the wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the higheſt love and eſteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and cauſed him to be brought in his bed near him, that he

himſelf might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to ſome writers, a natural ſon of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the braveſt men in the army, was highly eſteemed in war, and had greater talents for peace. He was averſe to luxury, vaſtly generous, eaſy of acceſs, and did not imitate the pomp which wealth and proſperity had made the reſt of the Macedonian noblemen aſſume: In a word, it is hard to ſay, whether he was more eſteemed by his ſovereign or his country. We are told, there appeared to him in a dream a dragon, which preſented him an herb, as an effectual remedy; and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be ſent for; when, laying it upon the wound, it was healed in a few days, to the univerſal joy of the army.

[d] The king, continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala, about the beginning of the dog-days, that is, about the end of July; ſo that the fleet was nine months at leaſt from its ſetting out, till its arrival at that place. There the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an iſland, but much larger, like the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above mentioned received its name, Patala, according to Arrian [e], ſignifying, in the Indian tongue, the ſame as Delta in the Greek. Alexander cauſed a citadel to be built in Patala, as alſo an harbour and an arſenal for the ſhipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to ſail as far as the ocean, expoſing in this manner ſo many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly unacquainted. The only conſolation they had in this raſh enterprize, was, Alexander's uninterrupted ſucceſs. When he had ſailed twenty leagues *, the pilots told him that they began to perceive the ſea-air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping for joy, he beſought the ſailors to row with all their ſtrength, and told the ſoldiers, "That they at laſt were come to the end of their toils, which "they had ſo earneſtly deſired; that now nothing could op-"poſe their valour, nor add to their glory; that without "fighting any more, or ſpilling of blood, they were maſters

[d] Strab. l. xv. p. 692. [e] Arrian. in Indic. p. 314.

* Four hundred furlongs.

" of the univerſe ; that their exploits had the ſame bounda-
" ries with nature ; and that they would be ſpectators of things
" known only to the immortal gods."

Being come nearer the ſea, a circumſtance new and unheard of by the Macedonians, threw them into the utmoſt confuſion, and expoſed the fleet to the greateſt danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgment of this vaſt ſea, from that of the Mediteranean, the only one they knew, and whoſe ebbings are imperceptible, they were very much aſtoniſhed when they ſaw it riſe to a great height, and overflow the country; and conſidered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, to puniſh their raſhneſs. They were no leſs ſurpriſed and terrified, ſome hours after, when they ſaw the ebbing of the ſea, which now withdrew as it had before advanced, leaving thoſe lands uncovered it had ſo lately overflowed. The fleet was very much ſhattered; and the ſhips being now upon dry land, the fields were covered with clothes, with broken oars and planks, as after a great ſtorm.

At laſt Alexander, after having ſailed full nine months in rivers, arrived at the ocean, where, gazing with the utmoſt eagerneſs upon that vaſt expanſe of waters, he imagined that this ſight, worthy ſo great a conqueror as himſelf, greatly overpaid all the toils he had undergone, and the many thouſand men he had loſt, to arrive at it. He then offered ſacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune ; threw into the ſea the bulls he had ſlaughtered, and a great number of golden cups ; and beſought the gods not to ſuffer any mortal after him to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conqueſts to the extremities of the earth on that ſide, he imagined he had completed his mighty deſign ; and, highly delighted with himſelf, he returned to rejoin the reſt of his fleet, and army, which waited for him at Patala, and in the neighbourhood of it.

SECTION XVII.

ALEXANDER is grievously distressed by FAMINE. He marries STATIRA the DAUGHTER of DARIUS.

ALEXANDER [f], being returned to Patala, prepared things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had the courage to accept of this commission, which was a very hazardous one, because they were to sail over a sea entirely unknown to them. The king was very much pleased at his accepting of it; and, after testifying his acknowledgment upon that account in the most obliging terms, he commanded him to take the best ships in the fleet, and to go and sound the sea-coast extending from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulf: And, after having given these orders, he set out by land for Babylon.

[g] Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the same time with Alexander. It was not yet the season proper for sailing. It was summer, when the southern sea-winds rise; and the season of the north-winds, which blow in winter, was not yet come. He therefore did not set sail till about the end of September, which was too soon; and accordingly he was incommoded by winds some days after his departure, and obliged to shelter himself for twenty-four days.

We are obliged for these particulars, to Arrian, who has given us an exact journal of this voyage, copied from that of Nearchus the admiral.

Alexander after having left Patala, marched through the country of the Oritae, the capital whereof was called Ora or Rambacis. Here he was in such want of provision, that he lost a great number of soldiers; and brought back from India scarce the fourth part of his army, which had consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. Sickness, bad food, and the excessive heats, had swept them away in multitudes; but famine made a still greater havoc among the troops in this barren country, which was neither ploughed nor sowed; its inhabitants being savages, who fared

f Arrian. in Indic. p. 334. g Ibid. p. 335.

very hard, and led a moſt uncomfortable life. After they had eat all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beaſts of burden, and next upon their war-horſes; and when they had no beaſts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn thoſe rich ſpoils, for the ſake of which the Macedonians had ran to the extremities of the earth. The plague, a diſeaſe which generally accompanies famine, completed the calamity of the ſoldiers, and deſtroyed great numbers of them.

After marching threeſcore days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedroſia, where he found plenty of all things: For the ſoil was not only very fruitful, but the kings and great men who lay neareſt that country, ſent him all kinds of proviſions. He continued ſome time here, in order to refreſh his army. The governors of India having ſent, by his order, a great number of horſes, and all kinds of beaſts of burden, from the ſeveral kingdoms ſubject to him; he remounted his troops; equipped thoſe who had loſt every thing; and ſoon after preſented all of them with arms, as beautiful as thoſe they had before, which it was very eaſy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Perſia, at that time in peace, and in a very flouriſhing condition.

He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of maſquerade, and Bacchanalian feſtivity: committing the moſt riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horſes, himſelf, being ſeated on a magnificent chariot, above which a ſcaffold was raiſed, in the form of a ſquare ſtage, where he paſſed the days and nights in feaſts and carouſing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, ſome of which, in the ſhape of tents, were covered with rich carpets, and purple coverlets; and others, ſhaped like cradles, were overſhadowed with branches of trees. On the ſides of the roads, and at the doors of houſes, a great number of caſks ready broached were placed, whence the ſoldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups, and goblets, prepared for that purpoſe.

The whole country echoed with the ſound of inſtruments, and the howling of the Bachanals, who, with their hair diſhevelled, and like ſo many frantic creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themſelves to every kind of licentiouſneſs. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, croſſed all Aſia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, diſſolute march laſted ſeven days; during all which time the army was never ſober. It was very happy, ſays Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this condition; for a thouſand reſolute men, well armed, might with great eaſe have defeated theſe conquerors of the world, whilſt thus plunged in wine and exceſs.

[h] Nearchus, ſtill keeping along the ſea-coaſt, from the mouth of the Indus, came at laſt into the Perſian gulf, and arrived at the iſland of Harmuſia, now called Ormus. He there was informed, that Alexander was not above five days journey from him. Having left the fleet in a ſecure place, he went to meet Alexander accompanied only by four perſons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almoſt alone, he imagined that it had been entirely deſtroyed, and that Nearchus had been ſo very happy as to eſcape from the general defeat. His arrival confirmed him ſtill more in his opinion, when he beheld a company of pale, lean creatures, whoſe countenances were ſo much changed, that it was ſcarce poſſible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aſide, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but at the ſame time was inconſolable for the loſs of his fleet. "Your fleet, royal Sir," cried he immediately, "thanks to the Gods, is not loſt:" Upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confeſſed, that this happy news gave him greater pleaſure than the conqueſt of all Aſia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the diſcoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, purſuant to the firſt orders he had given him.

[h] Arrian. in Indic. p. 348—352.

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governors and other officers, who had grievouſly oppreſſed the people of various provinces during his abſence: For, fully perſuaded he would never return, they had exerciſed every ſpecies of rapine, tyranny, cruelty, and oppreſſion. But Alexander, ſtrongly affected with their grievances, and pierced to the very ſoul with their juſt complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of mal-adminiſtration, and with them ſix hundred ſoldiers, who had been the inſtruments of their exactions and other crimes. He even afterwards treated with the ſame ſeverity, all ſuch of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, ſo that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes theſe examples of ſeverity to his equity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity; to his glory, to prove he does not connive or ſhare in the injuſtice committed in his name; to the conſolation of his ſubjects, whom he ſupplies with a vengeance themſelves ought never to exerciſe; in fine, to the ſafety of his dominions, which, by ſo equitable an adminiſtration, is ſecured from many dangers, and very often from inſurrections. It is a great unhappineſs to to a kingdom, when every part of it reſounds with exactions, vexations, oppreſſions, and corruption, and not ſo much as a ſingle man is puniſhed, as a terror to the reſt; and that the whole weight of the public authority falls only upon the people, and never on thoſe who ruin them.

The great pleaſure Alexander took, in the account which Nearchus gave him of his ſucceſsful voyage, made that prince have a great inclination to go upon the ocean. He propoſed no leſs than to ſail, from the Perſian gulf, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the ſtraits of Gibraltar, called at that time Hercules's pillars; a voyage which had been ſeveral times attempted, and once performed by order of a king of Egypt, called Nechao, as I have obſerved elſewhere. It was afterwards his deſign, when he ſhould have humbled the pride of Carthage, againſt which he was greatly exaſperated, to croſs into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia,

from the river Iberus: He next was to go over the Alps, and coaſt along Italy, where he would have had but a ſhort paſſage into Epirus, and from thence into Macedonia. For this purpoſe, he ſent orders to the viceroys of Meſopotamia and Syria, to build in ſeveral parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapſacus, ſhips ſufficient for that enterpriſe; and he cauſed to be felled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as a great many more which he meditated, were all defeated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Paſſagardae, a city of Perſia. Orſines was governor of the country, and the greateſt nobleman in it. He was deſcended from Cyrus; and, beſides the wealth he inherited from his anceſtors, he himſelf had amaſſed great treaſures, having, for many years, ruled a large country. He had done the king a ſignal piece of ſervice. The perſon who governed the provinces during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orſines obſerving, that, for want of a governor, all things were running to confuſion, took the adminiſtration upon himſelf, compoſed matters very happily, and preſerved them in the utmoſt tranquillity till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with preſents of all kinds for himſelf, as well as his officers. Theſe conſiſted of a great number of fine managed horſes, chariots enriched with gold and ſilver, precious moveables, jewels, gold vaſes of prodigious weight, purple robes, and four thouſand talents of ſilver in ſpecie *. However, this generous magnificence proved fatal to him; for he preſented ſuch gifts to the principal grandees of the court, as infinitely exceeded their expectations, but gave nothing to the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this not through forgetfulneſs, but out of contempt. Some perſons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he anſwered, "I honour the king's friends, but "not an infamous eunuch." Theſe words being told Bagoas, he employed all his credit to ruin a prince deſcended from the nobleſt blood in the Eaſt, and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed ſome of Orſines's attendants, giving them in-

* About L. 600,000.

ſtructions how to impeach him at a proper ſeaſon; and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with ſuſpicions and diſtruſt, letting drop ambiguous expreſſions of that nobleman, as if by chance, and diſſembling very artfully the motives of his diſcontent. Nevertheleſs, the king ſuſpended his judgment for the preſent, but diſcovered leſs eſteem than before for Orſines, who knew nothing of what was plotting againſt him, ſo ſecretly the affair was carried on; and the eunuch, in his private diſcourſes with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either with exactions or treaſon.

The great danger to which princes are expoſed, is the ſuffering themſelves to be prejudiced and over-reached in this manner by their favourites; a danger ſo common, that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, aſſures him [i], that if he were exempted from this weakneſs, he may boaſt himſelf to be the only man in the world that is ſo. What is here ſpoken of princes, is applicable to all who repreſent them. Great men generally liſten with pleaſure to the ſlanderer; and for this reaſon, becauſe he generally puts on the maſk of affection and zeal, which ſoothes their pride. Slander always makes ſome impreſſion on the moſt equitable minds: and leaves behind it ſuch dark and gloomy traces, as raiſe ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and diſtruſts. The artful ſlanderer is bold and indefatigable, becauſe he is ſure to eſcape unpuniſhed; and is ſenſible, that he runs but very little danger, in greatly prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they ſeldom enquire into ſecret calumnies, either from indolence, giddineſs, or ſhame to appear ſuſpicious, fearful, or diffident; in a word, from their unwillingneſs to own that they were impoſed upon, and had abandoned themſelves to a raſh credulity. In this manner, the moſt unſullied virtue, and the moſt irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a ſad example on the preſent occaſion. Bagoas, after having taken his meaſures at a diſtance, at laſt gave birth to his dark deſign. Alexander, having cauſed the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the aſhes of that great prince, found nothing

[i] De Conſider. l. ii. c. 14.

in it, but an old rotten ſhield, two Scythian bows, and a ſcimitar; whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and ſilver, as the Perſians had reported. The king laid a golden crown on his urn, and covered it with his cloak; vaſtly ſurpriſed that ſo powerful and renowned a prince had not been buried with greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas, thinking this a proper time for him to ſpeak, "Are we to wonder," ſays he, "to find the tombs of kings ſo empty, ſince the houſes of the "governors of provinces are filled with the gold of which they "have deprived them? I, indeed, had never ſeen this monu-"ment: But I have heard Darius ſay, that immenſe treaſures "were buried in it. Hence flowed the unbounded liberality "and profuſion of Orſines, who, by beſtowing what he could "not keep without ruining himſelf, thought to make a merit "of this in your ſight." This charge was without the leaſt foundation; and yet the Magi, who guarded the ſepulchre, were put to the torture; but all to no purpoſe; and nothing was diſcovered relating to the pretended theft. Their ſilence on this occaſion ought naturally to have cleared Orſines; but the artful, inſinuating diſcourſes of Bagoas had made a deep impreſſion on Alexander's mind, and by that means given calumny an eaſy acceſs to it. The accuſers, whom Bagoas had ſuborned, having made choice of a favourable moment, came and impeached Orſines, and charged him with the commiſſion of ſeveral odious crimes, and among the reſt, with ſtealing the treaſures of the monument. At this charge the matter appeared no longer doubtful, and the indications were thought ſufficient; ſo that this prince was loaded with chains before he ſo much as ſuſpected that any accuſation had been brought againſt him; and was put to death, without being ſo much as heard, or confronted with his accuſers. Too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in perſon; and who ſtill continue infatuated, notwithſtanding the numberleſs examples they read in hiſtory, of princes who have been betrayed in like manner.

I have already ſaid, that there had followed the king an Indian called Calanus, reputed the wiſeſt man of his country,

who, though he profeſſed the practice of the moſt ſevere philoſophy, had however been perſuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court. [k] This man having lived eighty-three years, without having been ever afflicted with ſickneſs; and having a very ſevere fit of the cholic, upon his arrival at Paſſagarda, he reſolved to put himſelf to death. Reſolutely determined not to let the perfect health he had always enjoyed, he impaired by lingering pains; and being alſo aſſured of falling into the hands of phyſicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he beſought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him; and deſired, that after he had aſcended it, fire might be ſet to it. Alexander imagined Calanus might eaſily be diſſuaded from ſo dreadful a deſign; but finding, in ſpite of all the arguments he could uſe, that Calanus was ſtill inflexible, he at laſt was obliged to acquieſce with it. Calanus then rode on horſeback to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; cauſed libations to be performed upon himſelf, and the reſt of the ceremonies to be obſerved which are practiſed at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims; embraced ſuch of his friends as were preſent; intreated them to be merry that day, to feaſt and carouſe with Alexander; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that he would ſoon ſee that prince in Babylon. After ſaying theſe words, he aſcended with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs the funeral pile, laid himſelf down upon it, and covered his face; and, when the flame catched him, he did not make the leaſt motion; but with a patience and conſtancy that ſurpriſed the whole army, continued in the poſture in which he at firſt had laid himſelf; and completed his ſacrifice, by dying purſuant to the cuſtom practiſed by the ſages of his country.

[l] The hiſtorian informs us, that people differed very much in opinion with reſpect to this action. Some condemned it, as ſuiting only a frantic ſenſeleſs wretch; others imagined he was prompted to it out of vain glory, merely for the ſake of being gazed at, and to paſs for a miracle in conſtancy; and

[k] Arrian. l. vii. p. 276. Diod l. vii. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 703.
[l] Diodore.

theie were not miſtaken: In fine, others applauded this falſe heroiſm, which had enabled him to triumph in this manner over ſorrow and death.

Alexander, being returned into his tent after this dreadful ceremony, invited ſeveral of his friends and general officers to ſupper; and, in compliance with Calanus's requeſt, and to do him honour, he propoſed a crown, as a reward for him who ſhould quaff moſt. He who conquered on this occaſion was Promachus, who ſwallowed four meaſures of wine, that is, eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown worth a * talent, he ſurvived his victory but three days. Of theſe gueſts, forty-one died of their intemperance: A ſcene, worthy of cloſing that which Calanus had a little before exhibited!

[m] From Paſſagarda, Alexander came to Perſepolis; and, ſurveying the remains of the conflagration, was exaſperated againſt himſelf, for his folly in ſetting it on fire. From hence he advanced towards Suſa. Nearchus, in compliance with his orders, had begun to ſail up the Euphrates with his fleet; but, upon advice that Alexander was going to Suſa, he came down again to the mouth of the Paſi-tigris, and ſailed up this river to a bridge, where Alexander was to paſs it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to his gods ſacrifices, by way of thanks for his happy return; and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him, for the care he had taken of the fleet; and for having conducted it ſo far ſafe, through numberleſs dangers.

Alexander found in Suſa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldeſt daughter, and gave the youngeſt to his dear Hephaeſtion. And in order that, by making theſe marriages more common, his own might not be cenſured, he perſuaded the greateſt noblemen in his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they choſe from amongſt the nobleſt families of Perſia, about eighty young maidens, whom they married. His

[m] Arrian de Indic. p. 357, 358.

* A thouſand crowns.

design was, by these alliances, to cement so strongly the union of the two nations, that they should henceforward form but one under his empire. The nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise feasted all the rest of the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were nine thousand guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for the libations.

Not satisfied with this bounty, he would also pay his soldiers debts. But finding that several would not declare the sum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice merely to discover those among them who were too lavish of their money, he appointed in his camp, offices, where all debts were paid, without asking the name either of debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occasion, and gave prodigious satisfaction; we are told that it amounted to near ten thousand talents *; but his indulgence, in permitting every person to conceal his name, was a still more agreeable circumstance. He reproached the soldiers, for their seeming to suspect the truth of his promise, and said to them, "† That a king ought never to "forfeit his word with his subjects; nor his subjects suspect "that he could be guilty of so shameful a prevarication." A truly royal maxim, as it forms the security of a people, and the most solid glory of a prince; which, at the same time, may be renounced for ever by the violation of a single promise; which in affairs of government, is the most fatal of all errors.

And now there arrived at Susa thirty thousand Persian young men, most of the same age, and called Epigones, that is, successors; as coming to relieve the old soldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only had been made choice of, as were the strongest and best shaped in all Persia: and had been sent to the governors of such cities as were either founded or conquered by Alexander. These had instructed them in military discipline, and in all things relating to the science of war. They were all very neatly dressed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. These came and encamped before the city,

* About fifteen hundred thousand pounds.

† Οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι ὦτ' ὧν τὸν βασιλέα ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, οὔτε τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὰ ἄλλό τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. Arrian.

where, drawing up in battle array, they were reviewed; and performed their exercises before the king, who was extremely well pleased, and very bountiful to them afterwards; at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And indeed Alexander observing these were harrassed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurs and complaints in the assemblies; he for that reason was desirous of training up these new forces, purposely to check the licentiousness of the veterans. It is dangerous to disgust a whole nation, and to favour foreigners too openly.

[n] In the mean time Harpalus, whom Alexander, during his expedition into India, had appointed governor of Babylon, quitted his service. Flattering himself with the hopes that this prince would never return from his wars in that country, he had given a loose to all kinds of licentiousness, and consumed in his infamous revels part of the wealth with which he had been intrusted. As soon as he was informed that Alexander, in his return from India, punished very severely such of his lieutenants as had abused their power, he meditated how he might best secure himself; and for this purpose amassed five thousand talents, that is, about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, assembled six thousand soldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed at Athens. [o] Immediately all such orators as made a trade of eloquence, ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to distribute a small part of his wealth among these orators, to win them over to his interest; but he offered Phocion seven hundred * talents, and even put his person under his protection, well knowing the prodigious authority he had over the people.

The fame of his probity, and particularly of his disinterestedness, had gained him this credit. Philip's deputies had offered him great sums of money in that prince's name, and entreating him to accept them, if not for himself, at least for his children, who were so poor, that it would be impossible for them to support the glory of his name: "If they resemble me,"

[n] Plut. in Demosth. p. 857, 858.

[o] Ibid. in Phoc. p. 751.

* Seven hundred thousand crowns.

replied Phocion "* the little ſpot of ground, with the produce "of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raiſed me to "the glory you mention, will be ſufficient to maintain them; "if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely "to foment and heighten their luxury." [P] Alexander having likewiſe ſent him an hundred † talents, Phocion aſked thoſe who brought them, upon what deſign Alexander ſent him ſo great a ſum, and did not remit any to the reſt of the Athenians? "It is," replied they, "becauſe Alexander looks upon "you as the only juſt and virtuous man." Says Phocion, "Let "him ſuffer me ſtill to enjoy that character, and be really what "I am taken for."

The reader will ſuppoſe, that he did not give a more favourable reception to the perſons ſent by Harpalus. And indeed he ſpoke to them in very harſh terms, declaring, that he ſhould immediately take ſuch meaſures as would be very diſagreeable to the perſon on whoſe errand they came, in caſe he did not leave off bribing the city; ſo that Harpalus loſt all hopes from that quarter.

Demoſthenes did not at firſt ſhew more favour to Harpalus. He adviſed the Athenians to drive him out from their city, and not to involve it in a war, upon a very unjuſt occaſion, and at the ſame time without the leaſt neceſſity.

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having obſerved that Demoſthenes took a particular pleaſure in viewing one of the king's cups of ſolid gold, and that he admired the faſhion, and the beauty of the workmanſhip, deſired him to take it in his hand, and tell him the weight of it. Demoſthenes taking the cup, was ſurpriſed at its heavineſs, and accordingly aſked how much it weighed? Harpalus anſwered with a ſmile, twenty ‡ talents, I believe; and that very evening ſent him that ſum with the cup: For

[P] Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

* Si mei ſimiles erunt, idem hic, inquit, agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit: ſin diſſimiles ſunt futuri, nolo meis impenſis illorum ali augerique luxuriam. Cor. Nep. in Phoc. c. 1.

† An hundred thouſand crowns.

‡ Twenty thouſand crowns.

ſo great was Harpalus's penetration, that he could diſcover by the air, and certain glances, the foible of a man ſtruck with the charms of gold. Demoſthenes could not reſiſt its power; but, overcome by this preſent, and being * no longer maſter of himſelf, he joined on a ſudden with Harpalus's party; and the very next morning, wrapping his neck well in woollen cloths, he went to the aſſembly. The people then ordered him to riſe and make a ſpeech; but he refuſed, making ſigns that he had loſt his voice; upon which ſome wags cried aloud, that their orator had been ſeized in the night, not with a †ſquinancy, but an argyrancy; thereby intimating, that Harpalus's money had ſuppreſſed his voice.

The people, being told next day of the gift which had been ſent to Demoſthenes, were highly exaſperated, and refuſed to hear his juſtification. Harpalus was thereupon expelled the city; and in order to diſcover the perſons who had taken bribes, the magiſtrates commanded a ſtrict ſearch to be made in all houſes, that of Caricles excepted, who having married but a little before, was exempted from this inquiry, out of reſpect to his bride. The politeneſs ſhewn on this occaſion does honour to Athens, and is not always exerciſed elſewhere.

Demoſthenes, to prove his innocence, propoſed a decree, by which the ſenate of the Areopagus was impowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was the firſt they tried; and fined, upon being convicted, fifty ‡ talents, for the payment of which he was thrown into priſon; however, he found means to eſcape, and left his country. Demoſthenes did not behave with reſolution and magnanimity in his baniſhment, reſiding generally at Aegina or Trezena; and every time he caſt his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he ſuffered ſuch words to drop from him, as were unworthy a brave man; words which by no means correſpond with his re-

* The expreſſion in the Greek is full of beauty and ſpirit. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demoſthenes, to a garriſon of the enemy, which a governor had received into his city, and thereby diſpoſſeſſed himſelf of the command of it. Πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας, ὥσπερ παραδεδεγμένος φρουράν.

† It is impoſſible to tranſlate the agreeable play of theſe Greek words. Οὐχ ὑπὸ συναγχικῆς ἑφωράζον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀργυραγχικῆς εἰλῆφθαι νύκτωρ τὸν δημαγωγόν.

‡ Fifty thouſand crowns.

ſolute and generous behaviour during his adminiſtration. Cicero was reproached with the ſame weakneſs in his exile, which ſhews that great men are not ſuch at all times, and on all occaſions.

[q] It were to be wiſhed, for the honour of eloquence, that what Pauſanias relates in juſtification of Demoſthenes were true; and it is very probable it was ſo. According to this author, Harpalus, after flying from Athens, was ſeized by Philoxenes the Macedonian; and being racked, to extort from him the names of ſuch Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demoſthenes, whoſe name, had he been guilty, he would not have ſuppreſſed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.

Upon the firſt report of Harpalus's flying to Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in perſon to puniſh Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a fleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their aſſembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aſide all thoughts of returning into Europe.

Alexander, having ſtill a curioſity to ſee the ocean, came down from Suſa, upon the river Eulaeus; and after having coaſted the Perſian gulf to the mouth of the Tigris, he went up that river towards the army, which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephaeſtion.

Upon his arrival there, he publiſhed a declaration in the camp, by which all the Macedonians, who by reaſon of their age, wounds, or any infirmity, were unable to ſupport any longer the fatigues of the ſervice, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring, that his deſign was to diſcharge them, to be bountiful to them, and to ſend them back to their native country in a ſafe and honourable manner. His intention was, in making this declaration, to oblige, and at the ſame time give them the ſtrongeſt proof how greatly they were in his eſteem. However, the very contrary happened: For being already diſguſted upon ſome other accounts, eſpecially by the

[q] Pauſan. l. ii. p. 148.

viſible preference which Alexander gave to foreigners, they imagined, that his reſolution was to make Aſia the ſeat of his empire, and to diſengage himſelf from the Macedonians; and that the only motive of his doing this was, that they might make room for the new troops he had levied in the conquered countries. This alone was ſufficient to exaſperate them to fury. Upon which, without obſerving the leaſt order or diſcipline, or regarding the remonſtrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of inſolence which they had never aſſumed till then, and with ſeditious cries unanimouſly demanded to be diſcharged; ſaying further, that ſince he deſpiſed the ſoldiers who had gained him all his victories, he and his father Ammon might carry on the war againſt whomſoever, and in what manner they pleaſed: But as for themſelves, they were fully determined not to ſerve him any longer.

The king, no way ſurpriſed, and without once heſitating, jumps from his tribunal; cauſes the principal mutineers, whom he himſelf pointed out to his guards, to be immediately ſeized and orders thirteen to be puniſhed. This bold and vigorous action, which thunderſtruck the Macedonians, ſuppreſſed their courage in an inſtant. Quite amazed and confounded, and ſcarce daring to look at one another, they ſtood with downcaſt eyes, and were ſo diſpirited, and trembled ſo prodigiouſly, that they were unable either to ſpeak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he re-aſcended his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a ſevere countenance, and a menacing tone of voice, the numerous favours which Philip his father had beſtowed upon them, and all the marks of kindneſs and friendſhip by which he himſelf had diſtinguiſhed them, he concluded with theſe words; "You all deſire a diſcharge; "I grant it you. Go now, and publiſh to the whole world, "that you have left your prince to the mercy of the nations "he had conquered, who were more affectionate to him than "you." After ſpeaking this, he returned ſuddenly into his tent; caſhiers his old guard; appoints another in its place, all compoſed of Perſian ſoldiers; ſhuts himſelf up for ſome days, and would not ſee any perſon all the time.

Had the Macedonians been ſentenced to die, it could not have ſurpriſed them more than when news was brought them, that the king had confided the guard of his perſon to the Perſians. They could ſuppreſs their grief no longer; ſo that nothing was heard but cries, groans, and lamentations. Soon after, they all run together to the king's tent, throw down their arms, confeſſing their guilt; acknowledging their fault with tears and ſighs; declare that the loſs of life will not be ſo grievous as the loſs of honour; and proteſt that they will not leave the place till the king hath pardoned them. At laſt, Alexander could no longer reſiſt the tender proofs they gave of their ſorrow and repentance; ſo that when he himſelf, at his coming out of his tent, ſaw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears; and, after ſome gentle reproaches, which were ſoftened by an air of humanity and kindneſs, he declared ſo loud as to be heard by them all, that he reſtored them to his friendſhip. This was reſtoring them to life, as was manifeſt from their ſhouts.

He afterwards diſcharged ſuch Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and ſent them back to their native country with rich preſents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the public games, they ſhould be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there ſit with crowns on their heads; and gave orders, that the children of thoſe who had loſt their lives in his ſervice, ſhould receive, during their minority, the ſame pay which had been given their fathers. Such ſupport and honours granted to veterans, muſt neceſſarily ennoble, in a very conſpicuous manner, the military profeſſion! It is not poſſible for a government to enrich every ſoldier in particular; but it may animate and conſole him by marks of diſtinction, which inſpire a ſtronger ardour for war, more conſtancy in the ſervice, and nobler ſentiments and motives.

Alexander appointed Craterus commander of theſe ſoldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Theſſaly, and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits inſtead of Craterus. The king had long ſince been quite tired with the complaints of his

mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater of aſpiring at ſovereign power; and the latter complained of her violent and untractable diſpoſition; and had often declared in his letters, that ſhe did not behave in a manner ſuitable to her dignity. It was with ſome reluctance Antipater reſigned his government.

[r] From Opis, Alexander arrived at Ecbatana in Media, where, after having diſpatched the moſt urgent affairs of the kingdom, he again ſolemnized games and feſtivals: There had come to him from Greece, three thouſand dancers, makers of machinery, and other perſons ſkilled in diverſions of this kind. It happened very unluckily, during the celebration of theſe feſtivals, that Hephaeſtion died of a diſeaſe which he brought upon himſelf. Alexander abandoning himſelf to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and ſometimes ſpent whole days and nights in theſe exceſſes. In one of them Hephaeſtion loſt his life. He was the moſt intimate friend the king had, the confident of all his ſecrets, and, to ſay all in a word, a ſecond ſelf. Craterus only ſeemed to diſpute this honour with him. A few words, which one day eſcaped that prince, ſhews the difference he made between theſe two courtiers. "Craterus, ſays he, "loves the king, but Hephaeſtion "loves Alexander." This expreſſion ſignifies, if I miſtake not, that Hephaeſtion had devoted himſelf, in a tender and affectionate manner, to the perſon of Alexander; but that Craterus loved him as a king, that is, was concerned for his reputation, and ſometimes was leſs obſequious to his will, than he was zealous for his glory and intereſt: An excellent character, but very uncommon.

Hephaeſtion was as much beloved by all the courtiers as by Alexander himſelf. Modeſt, even-tempered, beneficent; free from pride, avarice, and jealouſy; he never abuſed his credit, nor preferred himſelf to thoſe officers, whoſe merit made them neceſſary to his ſovereign. He was univerſally regretted; but his death threw Alexander into exceſſive ſorrow, to which he abandoned himſelf in ſuch a manner, as was unworthy ſo great a king. He ſeemed to receive no conſolation, but in the ex-

[r] A. M. 3680. Ant. J. C. 324.

traordinary funeral honours he paid to his friend at his arrival in Babylon, whither he commanded Perdiccas to carry his corpſe.

In order to remove, by buſineſs and employment, the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army againſt the Coſſaei, a warlike nation inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Perſian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. However, the king reduced them in forty days; afterwards paſſed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.

SECTION XVIII.

ALEXANDER enters BABYLON. His DEATH. His CORPSE conveyed to the TEMPLE of JUPITER-AMMON.

ALEXANDER being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon[s], the Chaldeans, who pretended to know futurity by the ſtars, deputed to him ſome of their old men, to acquaint him, that he would be in danger of his life, in caſe he entered that city; and were very urgent with him to go no farther. The Babyloniſh aſtrologers were held in ſuch great reputation, that this advice made a prodigious impreſſion on his mind, and filled him with confuſion and dread. Upon this, after ſending ſeveral of the grandees of his court to Babylon, he himſelf went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he ſtopped for ſome time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philoſophers, being told the foundation of his fear and ſcruples, waited upon him; when, ſetting in the ſtrongeſt light the principles of Anaxagoras, whoſe tenets they followed, they demonſtrated to him, in the ſtrongeſt manner, the vanity of aſtrology; and made him have ſo great a contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. [t] He knew that there were arrived in

[s] Arrian. l. vii. p. 294—309. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 4—7. Plut. in Alex. p. 705—707.

[t] Diod. l. xvii. p. 577—583. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 13—16.

that city, ambaſſadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole earth echoing ſo much with the terror of his name, that the ſeveral nations came, with inexpreſſible ardor, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their ſovereign. This view, which agreeably ſoothed the ſtrongeſt of all his paſſions, contributed very much to ſtifle every other reflection, and to make him careleſs of all advice that might be given him; ſo that he ſet forward with all poſſible diligence towards that great city, there to hold the ſtates-general, in a manner, of the world. After making a moſt magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambaſſadors, with the grandeur and dignity ſuitable to a great monarch, and at the ſame time with the affability and politeneſs of a prince who is deſirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded thoſe of Epidaurus with great preſents for the deity who preſides over their city, as well as over health, but reproached him at the ſame time. "Æſculapius," ſays he, "has ſhewed "me but very little indulgence, in not preſerving the life of "a friend who was as dear to me as myſelf." In private, he diſcovered a great friendſhip for ſuch of the deputies of Greece as came to congratulate him on his victories, and his happy return: and he reſtored them all the ſtatues, and other curioſities, which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Suſa, Babylon, Paſſagarda, and other places. We are told, that among theſe were the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton; and that they were brought back to Athens.

The ambaſſadors from Corinth having offered him, in the name of the city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which ſeemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained ſo exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. However, when Alexander was told that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only, he accepted it with joy; and piqued himſelf upon treading in his ſteps, and reſembling him in all things. But, cries Seneca *, in what did this frantic young man, with

* Quid illi ſimile habebat veſanus adoleſcens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil ſibi vicit. Orbem terrarum tranſivit, non concupiſcendo, ſed vindicando—malorum hoſtis, bonorum vindex, terrarum mariſque pacator. At hic a pueritia latro gentiumque vaſtator—ſummum bonum duxit, terrori eſſe cunctis mortalibus. Senec. de Benef. l. i, c. 13.

whom ſucceſsful temerity paſſed for virtue, reſemble Hercules? The latter, free from all ſelf-intereſted views, travelled through the world, merely to ſerve the ſeveral nations he viſited, and to purge the earth of ſuch robbers as infeſted it: Whereas Alexander, who is juſtly intitled the plunderer of nations, made his glory conſiſt in carrying deſolation into all places, and in rendering himſelf the terror of mankind.

At the ſame time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publicly in the aſſembly of the Olympic games, whereby the ſeveral cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, thoſe excepted who had committed ſacrilege, or any other crime deſerving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force againſt ſuch cities as ſhould refuſe to obey. This letter was read in the aſſembly. But as for the Athenians and Ætolians, they did not think themſelves obliged to put orders in execution which ſeemed to interfere with their liberty.

Alexander, after having diſpatched theſe affairs, finding himſelf now at leiſure, began to think of Hephaeſtion's burial. This he ſolemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been ſeen. As he himſelf undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmoſt in exalting the pomp of it. He likewiſe ordered all the nations of Aſia to extinguiſh what the Perſians call the Sacred Fire, till the ceremony of the interment ſhould be ended; which was conſidered as an ill omen, it being never practiſed in Perſia, except at the death of its monarchs. All the officers and courtiers, to pleaſe Alexander, cauſed images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

At the ſame time the king, having procured a great number of architects, and ſkilful workmen, firſt cauſed near ſix furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beat down; and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the ſpot deſigned for the funeral pile, he had a moſt magnificent monumental ſtructure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each whereof

was raiſed an uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree wood. The whole formed a perfect ſquare, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each ſide was a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, in length. At the foot of it, and in the firſt row, were ſet two hundred and forty-four prows of ſhips gilded; on the buttreſſes *, or ſupporters whereof, the ſtatues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground, were fixed; and two other ſtatues, in an upright poſture, completely armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The ſpaces between the prows were ſpread and adorned with purple cloth. Over theſe prows was a colonnade of large flambeuax, the ſhafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embelliſhed with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of thoſe flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downwards, and extended wings, ſerved as capitals. Dragons fixed near, or upon the baſe, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonnade ſtood a third, in the baſe of which was repreſented, in relievo, a party of hunting animals of every kind. On the ſuperior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the Centaurs was repreſented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, repreſenting lions and bulls, were placed alternately. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and Barbarian faſhion, as ſo many ſymbols of the victory of the former, and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were repreſented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled, but in an imperceptible manner, with muſicians, who ſang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceaſed. This edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty cubits high, that is, above one hundred and ninety-five feet.

The beauty and the deſign of this ſtructure, the ſingularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the ſeveral ornaments of it, ſurpaſſed the moſt wonderful productions of fancy, and were all in an exquiſite taſte. Alexander had ap-

* In Greek Ἐπωτίδες, or ears. Theſe are two pieces of timber, which project to the right and the left of the prow.

pointed to ſuperinted the building of this edifice, Staſicrates, a great architect, and admirably well ſkilled in mechanics, in all whoſe inventions and deſigns there appeared, not only prodigious magnificence and ſurpriſing boldneſs, but ſuch a greatneſs as was ſcarce conceivable.

[u] It was this artiſt, who diſcourſing ſome time before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would ſo well admit of being cut into the ſhape of a man, as mount Athos in Thrace: That, if he therefore pleaſed but to give orders, he would make this mountain the moſt durable of all ſtatues, and that which would lie moſt open to the view of the univerſe. In its left hand it ſhould hold a city, conſiſting of ten thouſand inhabitants; and from its right ſhould pour a great river, whoſe waters would diſcharge themſelves in the ſea. One would have thought that this project would have pleaſed Alexander, who ſought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheleſs, he rejected it, and wiſely anſwered, that it was enough there was one prince whoſe folly mount Athos would eternize. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the Iſthmus of that mountain, wrote a * letter to it in the moſt proud and ſenſeleſs terms. "With regard to myſelf," ſays Alexander, "mount Caucaſus, the river Tanais †, the Caſpian ſea, all "which I paſſed in triumph, ſhall be my monument."

The expence of the ſplendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephaeſtion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of twelve thouſand talents, that is, more than one million eight hundred thouſand pounds. But, what man was ever ſo ridiculouſly and extravagantly profuſe? All this gold, all this ſilver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the ſubſtance of provinces, which were thus ſacrificed to a vain oſtentation.

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his de-

[u] Plut. de fortun. Alex. ſerm. i. p. 335.

* Proud Athos, who liſteſt thy head to heaven, be not ſo bold as to oppoſe to my workmen, ſuch rocks and ſtones as they cannot cut; otherwiſe, I will cut thee quite to pieces, and throw thee into the ſea. Plutarch, de ira cohib. p. 555.

† The Iaxarthes is here meant.

ceaſed friend, ſomething was ſtill wanting to the honours he paid him, to raiſe them above human nature; and this was what he propoſed, and for that purpoſe had ſent to the temple of Ammon a truſty perſon, named Philip, to enquire the will of the god. It doubtleſs was the echo of that of Alexander; and the anſwer was, that ſacrifices might be offered to Hephaeſtion, as a demi-god. Theſe were not ſpared in any manner; Alexander himſelf firſt ſetting the example, when he made a grat feaſt, to which upwards of ten thouſand perſons were invited. At the ſame time he wrote to Cleomenes, governor of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephaeſtion in Alexandria, and another in the iſle of Pharos. In this letter, which is ſtill extant, to incite his diligence, and haſten the work he grants the governor, who was deſpiſed univerſally for his injuſtice and rapine, a general pardon for all his crimes, paſt, preſent, and future; provided that, at his return, the temple and city ſhould be completed. And now nothing was ſeen but new altars, temples, and feſtivals; no oaths were adminiſtered but in the name of the new deity: To queſtion his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer, a friend of Hephaeſtion, having bewailed him as dead, in paſſing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it; nor would he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been aſſured, that the officer wept, merely from ſome remains of tenderneſs, and not as doubting Hephaeſtion's divinity. I cannot ſay, whether Alexander prevailed ſo far, as to make any one give credit to Hephaeſtion's divinity; but he himſelf appeared, or at leaſt endeavoured to appear, firmly perſuaded of it; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himſelf could make gods. How ridiculous is all this.

During almoſt a year which Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great many projects in his mind; ſuch as, to go round Africa by ſea; to make a complete diſcovery of all the nations lying round the Caſpian ſea, and inhabiting its coaſts; to conquer Arabia, to make war with Carthage, and to ſubdue the reſt of Europe. The very thoughts of ſitting ſtill

fatigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never ſuffer him to be at reſt; nay, could he have conquered the whole world, he would have fought a new one, to ſatiate the avidity of his deſires.

The embelliſhing of Babylon alſo employed his thoughts very much. Finding it ſurpaſſed in extent, in conveniency, and in whatever can be wiſhed, either for the neceſſities or pleaſures of life, all the other cities of the Eaſt, he reſolved to make it the ſeat of his empire; and for that purpoſe, was deſirous of adding to it all the conveniences and ornaments poſſible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had ſuffered prodigiouſly by the breaking of the bank or dike of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The river running out of its uſual channel by this breach, overflowed the whole country; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at laſt ſo wide, that it would have coſt almoſt as much to repair the bank, as the raiſing of it had done at firſt. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates about Babylon that there was ſcarce depth enough for ſmall boats, which conſequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this; for which purpoſe he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It was on this occaſion that he reproached, in a ludicrous, inſulting tone of voice, the Magi and Chaldeans who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions; ſince, notwithſtanding the ill omens they had endeavoured to terrify him with, as if he had been a credulous woman, he however had entered Babylon, and was returned from it very ſafe. Attentive to nothing but the ſubject of his voyage, he went and reviewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and reſtoring it to its former condition.

This deſign of Alexander merited the greateſt applauſe. Such works are truly worthy great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, as not being the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but entirely calculated for the public good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water; and have made the river more navigable, and

conſequently of greater ſervice to the Babylonians, by turning it all again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on the length of thirty furlongs, a league and an half, was ſtopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the ſoil; and the death of this prince, which happened ſoon after, put an end to this project, and ſeveral others he had formed. A ſupreme cauſe, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obſtacle to the ſucceſs of it, was the curſe which God had pronounced againſt this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard. "[x] I "will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant," had the Lord of hoſts ſworn above three hundred years before: "I will "alſo make it a poſſeſſion for the bittern, and pools of water: "And I will ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction——[y] It "ſhall never be inhabited; neither ſhall it be dwelt in from ge- "neration to generation——Neither ſhall the ſhepherds make "their fold there." Heaven and earth would ſooner have paſſed away, than Alexander's deſign been put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed into uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inacceſſible by the prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city, as well as the country about it, were to be covered with ſtagnated waters, which would make all acceſs to it impracticable. * Thus it now lies; and all things were to conſpire to reduce it to this dejected ſtate, in order that the prophecy might be completely fulfilled? "[z] for the Lord of "hoſts hath purpoſed, and who ſhall diſannul it? And his "hand is ſtretched out, and who ſhall turn it back?" Nothing ſhews more evidently the ſtrength and weight of this invincible curſe, than the efforts of the moſt powerful prince that ever reigned; a prince the moſt obſtinate that ever was, with regard to the carrying on his projects; a prince, of whoſe enterpriſes none had ever miſcarried; and who failed in this only, though it did not ſeem ſo difficult as the reſt.

Another deſign which Alexander meditated, and had moſt

[x] Iſa. c. xiv. 22, 23.
[y] Ibid. c. xiii. 20.
[z] Ibid. c. xiv. 27.

* See what is ſaid on this ſubject in the hiſtory of Cyrus.

at heart, was the repairing the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demoliſhed it in his return from Greece; and it had lain in ruins ever ſince. Now Alexander was reſolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raiſe a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he had cauſed all the rubbiſh to be removed; and finding that the Magi, to whoſe care he had left this, went on but ſlowly, he made his ſoldiers work. Notwithſtanding ten thouſand of them were daily employed at it, for two months ſucceſſively, the work was not finiſhed at the death of this prince, ſo prodigious were its ruins. [a] When it came to the turn of the Jewiſh ſoldiers, who were in his army, to work as the reſt had done, they could not be prevailed upon to give their aſſiſtance; but excuſed themſelves with ſaying, that as idolatry was forbid by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to aſſiſt in building of a temple, deſigned for idolatrous worſhip; and accordingly not one lent a hand on this occaſion. They were puniſhed for diſobedience, but all to no purpoſe; ſo that, at laſt, Alexander, admiring their perſeverance, diſcharged, and ſent them home. This delicate reſolution of the Jews is a leſſon to many Chriſtians, as it teaches them, that they are not allowed to join or aſſiſt in the commiſſion of an action that is contrary to the law of God.

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of Providence on this occaſion. God had broke to pieces, by the hand of his ſervant Cyrus, the idol * Belus, the god who rivalled the Lord of Iſrael: He afterwards cauſed Xerxes to demoliſh his temple. Theſe firſt blows which the Lord ſtruck at Babylon, were ſo many omens of its total ruin; and it was as impoſſible for Alexander to complete the rebuilding of this temple, as for Julian, ſome centuries after, to reſtore that of Jeruſalem.

Although Alexander employed himſelf in the works above mentioned, during his ſtay in Babylon, he ſpent the greateſt part of his time in ſuch pleaſures as that city afforded; and

[a] Joſephus contra Appian. l. i. c. 8.

* God gives him this name in Iſaiah.

one would conclude, that the chief aim, both of his occupations and diverſions, was to ſtupify himſelf, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the Magi and other ſoothſayers: For though, in certain moments, he ſeemed not to regard the various notices which had been given him, he was however ſeriouſly affected with them inwardly; and theſe gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at laſt to ſuch a degree, that whenever the moſt inſignificant thing happened, if ever ſo little extraordinary and unuſual, his imagination ſwelled it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with ſacrifices, with perſons whoſe office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to prophecy. It was certainly a ſpectacle worthy a philoſophic eye, to ſee a prince, at whoſe nod the world trembled, abandoned to the ſtrongeſt terrors; ſo true is it, ſays Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear or believe any thing, be a great misfortune, the ſuperſtitious man, whoſe ſoul is a prey to the moſt abject fears, the moſt ridiculous follies, is equally unhappy. It is plain that God, by a juſt judgment, took a pleaſure in degrading, before all ages and nations, and in ſinking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to ſet himſelf above human nature, and equal himſelf to the Deity. This prince had fought in all his actions, that vain glory of conqueſts which men moſt admire; and to which they affix, more than to any thing elſe, the idea of grandeur: And God delivers him up to a ridiculous ſuperſtition, which virtuous men of good ſenſe and underſtanding deſpiſe moſt, and than which nothing can be more weak or groveling.

Alexander was therefore for ever ſolemnizing new feſtivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his uſual intemperance. After having ſpent a whole night in carouſing, a ſecond was propoſed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty gueſts at table. He drank to

the health of every perſon in company, and then pledged them ſeverally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup, which held ſix bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Proteas by name, and afterwards pledged him again, in the ſame furious bumper. He had no ſooner ſwallowed it, but he fell upon the floor. "Here then," cries Seneca *, deſcribing the fatal effects of drunkenneſs, "is this hero, invincible to all the toils "of prodigious marches, to the dangers of ſieges and combats, "to the moſt violent extremes of heat and cold; here he lies, "conquered by his intemperance, and ſtruck to the earth by "the fatal cup of Hercules."

In this condition, he was ſeized with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with ſome good intervals, in which he gave the neceſſary orders for the ſailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land-forces, being perſuaded he ſhould ſoon recover. But at laſt, finding himſelf paſt all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corpſe to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithſtanding † his great weakneſs, he however ſtruggled with death; and raiſing himſelf upon his elbow, preſented his ſoldiers, to whom he could not refuſe this laſt teſtimony of friendſhip, his dying hand to kiſs. After this, his principal courtiers aſking to whom he left the empire; he anſwered, "To the moſt worthy;" adding, that he foreſaw the deciſion of this would give occaſion to ſtrange funeral games after his deceaſe. And Perdiccas, inquiring further at what time they ſhould pay him divine honours; he replied, "When you are "happy." Theſe were his laſt words; and ſoon after, he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of

* Alexandrum tot itinera, tot praelia, tot hiemes, per quas, victa temporum locorumque difficultate, tranſierat tot flumina ex ignoto cadentia, tot maria tutum diuiſerunt; intemperantia bibendi, et ille Herculaneus ac fatalis ſcyphus condidit. Senec. ep iſt. 83.

† Quanquam violentia morbi dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus, dextram omnibus, qui eam contingere vellent, porrexit. Quis autem illam oſculum non curreret, quae jam fato oppreſſa, maximi exercitus complexui, humanitate quam ſpiritu vividiore, ſufficit? Val. Max. l. v. c. 1.

which he had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the ſpring, the firſt year of the 104th Olympiad.

[b] No one, ſays Plutarch and Arrian, ſuſpected then that Alexander had been poiſoned; and yet it is at this time that ſuch reports generally prevail. But the ſtate of his body proved that he did not die that way: For all his chief officers diſagreeing among themſelves, the corpſe, though it lay quite neglected for ſeveral days in Babylon, which ſtands in a hot climate, did not ſhew the leaſt ſymptoms of putrefaction. The true poiſon which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thouſands beſides Alexander. It was nevertheleſs believed afterwards, that this prince had been poiſoned by the treachery of Antipater's ſons: That Caſſander, the eldeſt of them, brought the * poiſon from Greece; that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he cunningly choſe the time of the great feaſt mentioned before, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank might conceal the true cauſe of his death. The ſtate of Antipater's affairs, at that time, gave ſome grounds for this ſuſpicion. He was perſuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, becauſe of his mal-adminiſtration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable that he commanded his ſons to commit a crime, which would ſave his own life, by taking away that of his ſovereign. An undoubted circumſtance is, that he could never waſh out this ſtain; and that as long as he lived, the Macedonians deteſted him as a traitor who had poiſoned their king. Ariſtotle was alſo ſuſpected, but with no great foundation.

Whether Alexander loſt his life by poiſon, or by exceſſive drinking, it is ſurpriſing to ſee the prediction of the Magi and ſoothſayers, with regard to his dying in Babylon, ſo exactly fulfilled. It is certain and indiſputable, that God has reſerved

b A. M. 3613. Ant. J. C. 328.

* It is pretended that this poiſon was an extremely cold water, which diſtills drop by drop, from a rock in Arcadia, called Nonacris. Very little of it falls; and it is ſo vaſtly ſharp, that it corodes whatever veſſel receives it, thoſe excepted which are made of mule's hoof. We are told that it was brought for this horrid purpoſe from Greece to Babylon, in a veſſel of the latter ſort,

to himſelf only the knowledge of futurity; and if the ſooth-ſayers and oracles have ſometimes foretold things which really came to paſs, they could do it no other way than by their impious correſpondence with devils, who, by their penetration and natural ſagacity, find out ſeveral methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity, with regard to approaching events; and are enabled to make predictions, which, though they appear above the reach of human underſtanding, are yet not above that of malicious ſpirits of darkneſs. The knowledge * thoſe evil ſpirits have of all the circumſtances which precede and prepare an event; the part they frequently bear in it, by inſpiring ſuch of the wicked as are given up to them, with the thoughts and deſire of doing certain actions, and committing certain crimes; an inſpiration to which they are ſure thoſe wicked perſons will conſent: By theſe things, devils are enabled to foreſee and foretel certain particulars. They, indeed, often miſtake in their conjectures, but † God alſo ſometimes permits them to ſucceed in them, in order to puniſh the impiety of thoſe, who, in contradiction to his commands, inquire their fate of ſuch lying ſpirits.

The moment that Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquiſhed bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occaſioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. The Perſians declared him to have been the moſt juſt, the kindeſt ſovereign that ever reigned over them; the Macedonians the beſt, the moſt valiant prince in the univerſe; and all exclaimed againſt the gods for having enviouſly bereaved mankind of him, in the flower of his age, and the height of his fortune. The Macedonians imagined they ſaw Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air,

* Daemonis perverſis, (ſolent) malefacta ſuadere, de quorum moribus certi ſunt quod ſint eis talia ſuadentibus conſenſuri. Suadent autem miris et invisibilibus modis. St. Aug. de Divinat. Daemon. p. 509.

† Facile eſt et non incongruum, ut omnipotens et juſtus, ad eorum poenam quibus iſta praedicuntur—occulto apparatu miniſteriorum ſuorum etiam ſpiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat. St. Aug. de Div. Quaeſt. ad Simplic. l. ii. Quaeſt. 3.

ſtill lead them on to battle, beſiege cities, climb walls, and reward ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves. They then reproached themſelves for having refuſed him divine honours; and confeſſed they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a name he ſo juſtly merited.

After paying him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themſelves, and on the ſad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They conſidered, that they were on the farther ſide, with reſpect to Macedonia, of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them; and ſurrounded with enemies, who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his ſucceſſor, a dreadful futurity preſented itſelf to their imagination; and exhibited nothing but diviſions, civil wars, and a fatal neceſſity of ſtill ſhedding their blood, and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Aſia, but only to give a king to it; and to raiſe to the throne perhaps ſome mean officer or wicked wretch.

This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but ſpread over all the provinces; and the news of it ſoon reached Darius's mother. One of her daughters was with her; who being ſtill inconſolable for the death of Hephaeſtion her huſband, the ſight of the public calamity recalled all her private woes. But Syſigambis bewailed the ſeveral misfortunes of her family; and this new affliction awaked the remembrance of all its former ſufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but juſt dead, and that this unfortunate mother ſolemnized the funeral of two ſons at the ſame time. She wept the living no leſs than the dead: "Who now," would ſhe ſay, "will take care of my daughters? Where ſhall we find ano-"ther Alexander?" She would fancy ſhe ſaw them again reduced to a ſtate of captivity, and that they had loſt their kingdom a ſecond time; but with this difference, that now Alexander was gone, they had no refuge left. At laſt, ſhe ſunk under her grief. This princeſs, who had born with patience the death of her father, her huſband, fourſcore of her brothers, who were murdered in one day by Ochus, and, to ſay

all in one word, that of Darius her ſon, and the ruin of her family; though ſhe had, I ſay, ſubmitted patiently to all theſe loſſes, ſhe however had not ſtrength of mind ſufficient to ſupport herſelf after the death of Alexander. She would not take any ſuſtenance, and ſtarved herſelf to death, to avoid her ſurviving this laſt calamity.

After Alexander's death, great contentions aroſe among the Macedonians, about appointing him a ſucceſſor, of which I ſhall give an account in its proper place. After ſeven days ſpent in confuſion and diſputes, it was agreed that Aridaeus, baſtard brother to Alexander, ſhould be declared king; and that in caſe Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, ſhould be delivered of a ſon, he ſhould ſhare the throne in conjunction with Aridaeus, and that Perdiccas ſhould have the care of both; for Aridaeus was a weak man, and wanted a guardian as much as a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpſe after their manner, Aridaeus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. [c] Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral, which made Olympias bewail the fate of her ſon, who having had the ambition to rank himſelf among the gods, was ſo long deprived of burial, a privilege allowed to the meaneſt of mortals.

SECTION XIX.

The JUDGMENT we are to form of ALEXANDER.

THE reader would not be ſatisfied, if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I ſhould not take notice of the judgment we are to form of them; eſpecially as authors have entirely differed in their opinions with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of ecſtacy, as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion ſeems to have prevailed: Others, on the contrary, have repreſented him in ſuch colours, as at leaſt fully, if not quite eclipſe, the ſplendor of his victories.

This diverſity of ſentiments denotes that of Alexander's

[c] Ælian. l. xiii. c. 30.

qualities; and it muſt be confeſſed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended, than in * the prince whoſe hiſtory we have written. But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different, according to the times or ſeaſons in which we conſider him, as Livy has very juſtly obſerved. In the inquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, ſuppoſing he had turned them towards Italy, he † diſcovers in him a kind of double Alexander; the one wiſe, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid, but at the ſame time prudent and circumſpect: The other immerſed in all the wantonneſs of an haughty proſperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; ſoftened by delights, abandoned to intemperance and exceſſes; in a word, reſembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Perſians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he aſſumed after his conqueſts.

I ſhall have an eye to this plan, in the account I am now to give of Alexander's character, and ſhall conſider it under two aſpects, and, in a manner, two eras; firſt, from his youth till the battle of Iſſus, and the ſiege of Tyre, which followed ſoon after; and ſecondly, from that victory to his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities with few defects, according to the idea the heathens had of theſe; the ſecond will repreſent to us enormous vices; and, notwithſtanding the ſplendor of ſo many victories, very little true and ſolid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a few battles excepted, in which he ſuſtained his reputation.

PART FIRST.

We are firſt to acknowledge and admire, in Alexander, a happy diſpoſition, cultivated and improved by an excellent

* Luxuria, induſtria; comitate, arrogantia; malis boniſque artibus mixtus. Tacit.

† Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merſo ſecundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui ſi ex habitu novae fortunae, novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod ſibi victor induerat, ſpectetur. Dario magis ſimilis quam Alexandro in Italiam veniſſet, et exercitum Macedoniae oblitum, degenerantemque jam in Perſarum mores adduxiſſet. Liv. l. ix. n. 18.

education. He had a great, noble, and generous ſoul. [d] He delighted in beſtowing and doing ſervice; qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whoſe buſineſs it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good leſſon on that ſubject. As he always threw the balls to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried to him, "And am I "then to have no ball?" No, Sir," replied the lad, "you do "not aſk me for it." This witty and ready anſwer gave great ſatisfaction to the prince, who fell a-laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no occaſion to excite him to acts of generoſity; for he would be quite angry with ſuch as refuſed them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter, "that "he would no longer be his friend, in caſe he refuſed to ac- "cept of his favours."

Alexander, as if he had been ſenſible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to ſhine on all occaſions, and appear more conſpicuous than any other perſon. No one was ever fired with ſo ſtrong a love for glory; and it is well known, that ambition, which is conſidered by Chriſtians as a great vice, was looked upon by the Heathens as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander ſupport with courage all the toils and fatigues neceſſary for thoſe who would diſtinguiſh themſelves in the exerciſes both of body and mind. He was accuſtomed very early to a ſober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind; a way of life highly advantageous to young ſoldiers.

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very converſant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the moſt abſtracted and moſt ſublime ſciences. How happy was he in meeting with ſo great a preceptor! None but an Ariſtotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the diſciple pay ſo illuſtrious a teſtimony in reſpect to his maſter, by declaring he was more indebted to him, in one ſenſe, than to his father. A man who thinks and ſpeaks in this man-

[d] Plut. in Alex. p. 672.

ner muſt be fully ſenſible of the great advantages of a good education.

The effects of this were ſoon ſeen. Is it poſſible for us to admire too much the great ſolidity and judgment which this young prince diſcovered in his converſation with the Perſian ambaſſadors? His early wiſdom, whilſt in his youth he acted as regent during his father's abſence, and pacified the feuds which had broke out in Macedonia? His courage and bravery at the battle of Chaeronea, in which he ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed himſelf?

It is a pain for me to ſee him wanting in reſpect to his father at a banquet, and employing ſevere, inſulting expreſſions on that occaſion. It is true indeed, that the affront which Philip put upon Olympias, his mother, in divorcing her, tranſported him in a manner out of himſelf; but ſtill no pretence, no injuſtice or violence, can either juſtify or excuſe ſuch uſage to a father and a king.

[e] He afterwards diſcovered more moderation, when, on occaſion of the inſolent and ſeditious diſcourſes held by his ſoldiers in an inſurrection, he ſaid, "That nothing was more "royal, than for a man to hear with calmneſs himſelf ill ſpo-"ken of, at the time he is doing good." It has been obſerved, that the great prince of [f] Condé did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conqueror, than the noble haughtineſs with which he ſpoke to the rebellious ſoldiers, who refuſed to follow him: "Go," ſays he, "ungrateful, baſe wretches, "and proclaim in your country that you have abandoned your "king among nations who will obey him better than you." "Alexander," ſays that prince, "abandoned by his own troops "among Barbarians, who were not yet completely conquered, "believes himſelf ſo worthy of commanding over others, that "he did not think men could refuſe to obey him. Whether "he were in Europe or in Aſia, among Greeks or Perſians, "it was the ſame to him. He fancied, that wherever he found "men, he found ſubjects." Alexander's patience and modegation, which I took notice of at firſt, are no leſs wonderful,

[e] Plut. in Alex. p. 688.

[f] St. Evremond.

The firſt years of his reign are perhaps the moſt glorious of his life. That at twenty years of age, he was able to appeaſe the inteſtine feuds which raged in the kingdom; that he either cruſhed or ſubjected foreign enemies, and thoſe of the moſt formidable kind; that he diſarmed Greece, moſt of the nations whereof had united againſt him; and that in leſs than three years, he ſhould have enabled himſelf to execute ſecurely thoſe plans his father had ſo wiſely projected; all this ſuppoſes a preſence of mind, a ſtrength of ſoul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a conſummate prudence; qualities which form the character of the true hero.

This character he ſupported in a wonderful manner, during the whole courſe of his expedition againſt Darius, till the time mentioned by us. [g] Plutarch very juſtly admires the bare plan of it, as the moſt heroic act that ever was. He formed it the very inſtant he aſcended the throne, looking upon this deſign, in ſome meaſnre, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When ſcarce twenty years old, ſurrounded with dangers both within and without his kingdom, finding his treaſury drained and incumbered with debts, to the amount of two hundred talents *, which his father had contracted; having an army which was greatly inferior in number to that of the Perſians: In this condition Alexander already turns his eyes towards Babylon and Suſa, and propoſes no leſs a conqueſt than that of ſo vaſt an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and raſhneſs of youth? aſks Plutarch. Certainly not, replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterpriſe with ſo great preparations, and ſuch mighty ſuccours, by which I underſtand, continues Plutarch, magnanimity, prudence temperance, and courage; preparations and aids, with which philoſophy ſupplied him, and which he thoroughly ſtudied; ſo that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conqueſt to the leſſons of Ariſtotle his maſter, as to the inſtructions of Philip his father.

We may add, that according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterpriſe muſt naturally be ſucceſsful. Such an army

[g] Plut. de fortun. Alex. orat. p. 327.

* About thirty thouſand pounds Sterling.

at his, though not a very great one, conſiſting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the beſt troops at that time in the world; and trained up to war during a long courſe of years, inured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exerciſes of ſieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their paſt victories, by the hopes of an immenſe booty, and more ſo, by their hereditary and irreconcilable hatred to the Perſians; ſuch an army, I ſay, headed by Alexander, was almoſt ſure of conquering an army, compoſed, indeed, of infinite numbers of men, but of few ſoldiers.

The ſwiftneſs of the execution was anſwerable to the wiſdom of the project. After having gained the affection of all his generals and officers by an unparalleled liberality; and all his ſoldiers by an air of goodneſs, affability, and even familiarity, which, ſo far from debaſing the majeſty of a prince, adds to the reſpect which is paid him, ſuch a zeal and tenderneſs, as if proof againſt all things: After this I ſay, the next thing to be done, was to aſtoniſh his enemies by bold enterpriſes, to terrify them by examples of ſeverity; and, laſtly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He ſucceeded wonderfully in theſe. The paſſage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory; the two celebrated ſieges of Miletus and Halicarnaſſus, ſhewed Aſia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the laſt city to the very foundations, ſpread an univerſal terror; but the allowing all thoſe the enjoyment of their liberties and ancient laws, who ſubmitted cheerfully, made the world believe, that the conqueror had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an eaſy and laſting peace.

His impatience to bathe himſelf, when covered with ſweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a gay, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity; but we muſt not judge of it from the manners of the preſent age. The ancients, all whoſe exerciſes were relative to thoſe of war, accuſtomed themſelves early to bathing and ſwimming. It is well known, that in Rome, the ſons of the nobility, after having heated themſelves in the Campus Martius, with running, wreſtling,

and hurling the javelin, uſed to plunge into the Tiber, which runs by that city. By theſe exerciſes they enabled themſelves to paſs rivers and lakes in an enemy's country; for thoſe are never croſſed, but after painful marches, and after having been long expoſed to the ſun-beams, which with the weight of the ſoldiers arms, muſt neceſſarily make them ſweat. Hence we may apologize for Alexander's bathing himſelf in a river, which had like to have been ſo fatal to him, eſpecially as he might not know that the waters of it were ſo exceſſive cold.

The two battles of Iſſus and Arbela, with the ſiege of Tyre, one of the moſt famous of antiquity, entirely proved that Alexander poſſeſſed all the qualities which form the great ſoldier; as, ſkill in making choice of a field of battle; ſuch a preſence of mind in the heat of action, as is neceſſary for the giving out proper orders; a courage and bravery, which the moſt evident dangers only animated; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by ſuch a prudent reſervedneſs, as will not ſuffer the hero to be carried away by an indiſcreet ardour; laſtly, ſuch a reſolution and conſtancy, as is neither diſconcerted by unforeſeen obſtacles, nor diſcouraged by difficulties, though ſeemingly inſurmountable, and which know no other bounds or iſſue but victory.

Hiſtorians have obſerved a great * difference between Alexander and his father, in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted ſecretly, and in the dark; but his ſon purſued his ſchemes with more candour, aad without diſguiſe. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to ſubdue them by force of arms. The former diſcovered more art, the latter had a greater ſoul. [h] Philip did not look upon any methods, which conduce to conqueſt, as ignominious; but Alexander could never prevail with himſelf to employ treachery. He, indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ableſt of all Darius's generals; but then he employed honourable

[h] Pauſan. l. vii. p. 415,

* Vincendi ratio utrique diverſa. His aperte, ille artibus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hoſtibus, hic palam fuſis. Prudentior ille conſilio, hic animo magnificentior—Nulla apud Philipum turpis ratio vincendi. Juſtin. l. ix. c. 8.

means. When he marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his ſoldiers, upon the ſevereſt penalties, not to make the leaſt havoc in them. His deſign, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to his ſide, or to make the Perſians ſuſpect his fidelity. [i] Memnon alſo delighted in behaving with generoſity towards Alexander: and hearing a ſoldier ſpeak ill of that prince: "I did not take thee into my pay," ſays that general, ſtriking him with his javelin, "to ſpeak injurioufly "of that prince, but to fight againſt him."

The circumſtance which raiſes Alexander above moſt conquerors, and, as it were, above himſelf, is the uſe he made of victory after the battle of Iſſus. This is the moſt beautiful incident in his life: Is the point of ſight in which it is his intereſt to be conſidered; and it is impoſſible for him not to appear truly great in this view. By the victory of Iſſus, he had poſſeſſed himſelf, not only of Darius's perſon, but alſo of his empire. Not only Syſigambis, that king's mother, was his captive; but alſo his wife and daughters, princeſſes whoſe beauty was not to be paralleled in all Aſia. [k] Alexander was in the bloom of his life, a conqueror, free, and not yet engaged in the bands of marriage, as an author obſerves of the firſt Scipio Africanus, on a like occaſion: Nevertheleſs, his camp was, to thoſe princeſſes, a ſacred aſylum, or rather a temple, in which their chaſtity was ſecured, as under the guard of virtue itſelf, and ſo highly revered, that Darius, in his expiring moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying hands towards heaven, and wiſh ſucceſs to ſo wiſe and generous a conqueror, who governed his paſſions ſo abſolutely.

In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I muſt not omit one ready found among the great, and which nevertheleſs does honour to human nature, and makes life happy: This is, his being informed by a ſoul capable of a tender friendſhip; his openneſs, truth, preſervance, and humility, in ſo exalted a fortune, which generally conſiders itſelf only, makes its gran-

i Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.
k Et juvenis, et coelebs, et victor. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

deur conſiſt in humbling all things around it, and is better pleaſed with ſervile wretches, than with free, ſincere friends.

Alexander endeared himſelf to his officers and ſoldiers; treated them with the greateſt familiarity; admitted them to his table, his exerciſes and converſations; was deeply troubled for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when ſick, rejoiced at their recovery, and ſhared in whatever befel them. We have examples of this in Hephaeſtion, in Ptolemy, in Craterus, and many others. A prince of real merit, does no ways debaſe his dignity, by ſuch a familiarity and condeſcenſion; but, on the contrary, is more beloved and reſpected upon that very account. Every man of a tall ſtature does not ſcruple to put himſelf upon a level with the reſt of mankind, well knowing that he ſhall overtop them all. It is the intereſt of truly diminutive perſons only, not to vie in ſtature with the tall, nor to appear in a crowd.

Alexander was dear to others, becauſe they were ſenſible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumſtance made the ſoldiers ſtrongly deſirous to pleaſe him, and fired them with intrepidity; hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, though attended with the greateſt difficulties and dangers: This made them ſubmit patiently to the ſevereſt hardſhips, and threw them into the deepeſt affliction, whenever they happened to give him any room for diſcontent.

In this picture which has been given of Alexander, what was wanting to complete his glory? Military virtue has been exhibited in its utmoſt ſplendor: Goodneſs, clemency, moderation, and wiſdom, have crowned it, and added ſuch a luſtre, as greatly enhances its value. Let us ſuppoſe, that Alexander, to ſecure his glory and his victories, ſtops ſhort in his career; that he himſelf checks his ambition, and raiſes Darius to the throne, with the ſame hand that had diſpoſſeſſed him of it; makes Aſia Minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Perſia; that he declares himſelf protector of all the cities and ſtates of Greece, in no other view than to ſecure their liberties, and the enjoyment of their reſpective laws and cuſtoms; that he afterwards returns to Ma-

cedon, and there, contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, makes all his glory and delight conſiſt in rendering his people happy, in procuring it abundance of all things, in ſeeing the laws put in execution, and making juſtice flouriſh; in cauſing virtue to be had in honour, and endearing himſelf to his ſubjects: In fine, that now become, by the terror of his arms, and much more ſo by the fame of his virtues, the admiration of the whole world, he ſees himſelf, in ſome meaſure, the arbiter of all nations, and exerciſes, over the minds of men, ſuch an empire, as is infinitely more laſting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only: Suppoſing all this to have happened, Alexander would have been as great, as glorious, as good a prince, as ever bleſſed mankind.

To the forming ſo great a character, a greatneſs of ſoul, and a moſt refined taſte for true glory, are required, ſuch as is ſeldom met with in hiſtory. Men generally do not * conſider, that the glory which attends the moſt ſhining conqueſts, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has deſpiſed and trampled upon ambition, and known how to give bounds to univerſal power. But Alexander was far from poſſeſſing theſe happy qualities. His uninterrupted felicity, that never experienced adverſe fortune, intoxicated and changed him to ſuch a degree, that he no longer appeared the ſame man; and I do not remember that ever the poiſon of proſperity, had a more ſudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

PART SECOND.

From the ſiege of Tyre, which was ſoon after the battle of Iſſus, in which Alexander diſplayed all the courage and abilities of a great warrior, we ſee the virtues and noble qualities of this prince degenerate on a ſudden, and make way for the greateſt vices and moſt brutal paſſions. If we ſometimes, through the exceſſes to which he abandons himſelf, perceive ſome bright rays of humanity, gentleneſs, and moderation, theſe are the

* Scis ubi vera principis, ubi ſempiterna ſit gloria—Arcus, et ſtatuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur et obſcurat oblivio? contra, contemptor ambitionis, et infinite potentiae domitor ac ſraenator animus ipſa vetuſtate floreſcit. Plin. in Pan. Trajan.

effects of a happy diſpoſition, which, not being quite extinguiſhed by vice, is however governed by it.

Was ever enterpriſe more wild and extravagant, than that of croſſing the ſandy deſerts of Lybia; of expoſing his army to the danger of periſhing with thirſt and fatigue; of interrupting the courſe of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raiſe a new army, merely for the ſake of marching ſo far, in order to get himſelf named the ſon of Jupiter-Ammon; and purchaſe, at ſo dear a rate, a title which could only render him contemptible?

[1] How mean was it in Alexander, to omit always in his letters, after Darius's defeat, the Greek word, which ſignifies Health *, except in thoſe he wrote to Phocion and Antipater! As if this title, becauſe employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is obliged by his office to procure, at leaſt to wiſh, all his ſubjects, the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word.

Of all vices, none is ſo groveling, none ſo unworthy, not only of a prince, but of a man of honour, as drunkenneſs; its bare name is intolerable, and ſtrikes us with horror. How infamous a pleaſure is it, to ſpend whole days and nights in carouſing; to continue theſe exceſſes for weeks together, to pride one's ſelf in exceeding other men in intemperance; and to endanger one's life in no other view than to gain ſuch a victory! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend theſe debauches, how greatly ſhocking is it to hear the frantic diſcourſes of a ſon, who, being intoxicated with the fumes of wine, induſtriouſly ſtrives to defame his father, to ſully his glory, and, loſt to all ſhame, prefer himſelf to him! Drunkenneſs is only the occaſion, not the cauſe, of theſe exceſſes. It betrays the ſentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories, greedy and inſatiable of praiſe, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of, and deſpiſing all mankind, has the power, in his ſober moments, to conceal his ſenti-

[1] Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

* Χαίρειν.

ments; but no ſooner is he intoxicated, than he ſhews himſelf to be what he really is.

What ſhall we ſay of his barbarouſly murdering an old friend; who, though indiſcreet and raſh, was yet his friend? Of the death of the moſt honeſt man in all his court, whoſe only crime was his refuſing to pay him divine homage? Of the execution of two of his principal officers, who were condemned, though nothing could be proved againſt them, and on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions?

I paſs over a great many other vices, which Alexander, according to moſt hiſtorians, gave into, and which are not to be juſtified. To ſpeak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror; qualities in which he is generally conſidered, and which have gained him the eſteem of all ages and nations; all we now have to do, is, to examine whether this eſteem be ſo well grounded as is generally ſuppoſed.

I have already obſerved, that, to the battle of Iſſus and the ſiege of Tyre incluſively, it cannot be denied but that Alexander was a great warrior and an induſtrious general. But yet I doubt very much, whether, during theſe firſt years of his exploits, he ought to be conſidered in a more conſpicuous light than his father; whoſe actions, though not ſo dazzling, are however as much applauded by good judges, and thoſe of the military profeſſion. Philip, at his acceſſion to the throne, found all things unſettled. He himſelf was obliged to lay the foundations of his own fortune, and was not ſupported by the leaſt foreign aſſiſtance. He raiſed himſelf to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was obliged to train up, not only his ſoldiers, but his officers; to inſtruct them in all the military exerciſes; to inure them to the fatigues of war; and to his care and abilities Macedonia owed the riſe of the celebrated Phalanx, that is, of the beſt troops the world had then ever ſeen, and to which Alexander owed all his conqueſts. How many obſtacles ſtood in Philip's way, before he could poſſeſs himſelf of the power which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had ſucceſſively exerciſed over Greece! The Greeks, who were the braveſt and moſt ſagacious people

in the univerſe, would not acknowledge him for their chief, till he acquired that title by wading through ſeas of blood, and by gaining numberleſs conqueſts over them. Thus we ſee, that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great deſign; the plan whereof, and the moſt excellent inſtructions relative to it, had been laid down to him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much eaſier taſk, to ſubdue Aſia with Grecian armies, than to ſubject the Greeks who had ſo often triumphed over Aſia?

But without carrying further the parallel of Alexander with Philip, which all who do not conſider heroes according to the number of provinces they have conquered, but by the intrinſic value of their actions, muſt give in favour of the latter: What judgment are we to form of Alexander, after his triumph over Darius; and is it poſſible to propoſe him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of thoſe who aſpire to the character of great ſoldiers and illuſtrious conquerors?

In this inquiry, I ſhall begin with that which is unanimouſly agreed, by all the writers on this ſubject, to be the foundation of the ſolid glory of a hero; I mean, the juſtice of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but an uſurper and a robber. Alexander, in making Aſia the ſeat of war, and turning his arms againſt Darius, had a plauſible pretence for it; becauſe the Perſians had been in all ages, and were at that time, profeſſed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generaliſſimo, and whoſe injuries he therefore might think himſelf juſtly entitled to revenge. But then, what right had Alexander over the great number of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the leaſt injury? The Scythian ambaſſador ſpoke very judiciouſly, when he addreſſed him in theſe words: "What have we to do with thee? "We never once ſet our feet in thy country. Are not thoſe "who live in woods allowed to be ignorant of thee, and the "place from whence thou comeſt? Thou boaſteſt, that the only deſign of thy marching is to extirpate robbers: Thou

" thyſelf art the greateſt robber in the world." This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate ſpoke to him to the ſame effect, and in ſtronger terms. Alexander aſked * him, what right he had to infeſt the ſeas? " The ſame that thou haſt," replied the pirate with a generous liberty, " to infeſt the univerſe: But becauſe I do " this in a ſmall ſhip, I am called a robber; and becauſe thou " acteſt the ſame part with a great fleet, thou art intitled con- " queror." This was a witty and juſt anſwer, ſays [m] St. Auſtin, who has preſerved this ſmall fragment of Cicero.

If therefore it ought to be laid down as a maxim, and no reaſonable man can doubt of its being ſo, that every war, undertaken merely from the view of ambition, is unjuſt; and that the prince who begins it, is guilty of all the ſad conſequences, and all the blood-ſhed on that occaſion; what idea ought we to form of Alexander's laſt conqueſts? Was ever ambition more extravagant, or rather more furious, than that of this prince? Come † from a little ſpot of ground; and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he has far extended his conqueſts; has ſubdued not only the Perſians, but alſo the Bactrians and Indians; has added kingdom to kingdom: After all this, I ſay, he ſtill finds himſelf pent up; and determined to force, if poſſible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to diſcover a new world, and does not ſcruple to ſacrifice millions of men to his ambition or curio-

[m] S. Auſt. de Civ. Dei. l. iv. c. 4.

* Eleganter et veraciter Alexandro illi Magno comprehenſus pirata reſpondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogaſſet, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet infeſtum; ille, libera contumacia: Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor: quia tu magna claſſe, imperator. Refert Nonius Marc. ex Cicer. iii. de rep.

† Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devaſtandi, et ad ignota mittebat. Jam in unum regnum multa regna conjecit (or conjeſſit): jam Graeci Perſaeque eundem timent: jam etiam a Dario liberae nationes jugum accipiunt. Hic tamen, ultra Oceanum Solemque, indignatur ab Herculis Liberique veſtigiis victoriam flectere: ipſi naturae vim parat—et, ut ita dicam, mundi clauſtra perrumpit. Tanta eſt coecitas mentium, et tanta initiorum ſuorum oblivio. Ille modo ignobilis anguli non ſine controverſia Dominus, detecto fine terrarum, per ſpum rediturus orbem, triſtis eſt. Senec. epiſt. 94 et 119.

ſity. It is related that * Alexander, upon Anaxarchus the philoſopher's telling him that there was an infinite number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impoſſible for him to conquer them all, ſince he had not yet conquered one. Is it wrong in † Seneca to compare theſe pretended heroes, who have gained renown no otherwiſe than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which lay waſte and deſtroy all things; or to wild beaſts, who live merely by blood and ſlaughter?

Alexander, ‡ paſſionately fond of glory, of which he neither knew the nature or juſt bounds, prided himſelf upon treading in the ſteps of Hercules, and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than him. What reſemblance was there, ſays the ſame Seneca, between that wiſe conqueror, and this frantic youth, who miſtook his ſucceſsful raſhneſs for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conqueſts for himſelf. He over-ran the univerſe as the ſubduer of monſters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the reſtorer of peace by land and ſea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjuſt robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murderer of his friends, makes his happineſs and glory conſiſt in rendering himſelf formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fierceſt animals, but even the vileſt, make themſelves feared by their poiſons.

But, leaving this firſt conſideration, which repreſents con-

* Alexandro pectus inſatiabile laudis qui Anaxarcho—innumerabiles mundos eſſe referenti: Heu me, inquit, miſerum, quod ne uno quidem adhuc potitus ſum! Anguſta homini poſſeſſio gloriae fuit, quae Deorum omnium domicilio ſuffecit Val. Max. l. viii. c. 14.

† Exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere peſtes mortalium, quam inundatio —quam conflagratio. Senec. Nat. Quaeſt. l. iii. in Praefat.

‡ Homo gloriae deditus, cujus nec naturam nec modum noverat, Herculis veſtigia ſequens, ac ne ibi quidem reſiſtens ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Herculi) ſimile habebat veſanus adoleſcens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil ſibi vicit: orbem terrarum tranſivit, non concupiſcendo, ſed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum hoſtis, bonorum vindex, terrarum mariſque pacator? At hic a puericia latro, gentiumque vaſtator, tam hoſtium pernicies quam amicorum, qui ſummum bonum duceret terrori eſſe cunctis mortalibus; oblitus, non ferociſſima tantum ſed ignaviſſima quoque animalia timeri ob virtus nihilum. Senec. de Ben. l. i. c. 13.

querors to us as ſo many ſcourges ſent by the warth of heaven into the world to puniſh the ſins of it, let us proceed to examine the laſt conqueſts, abſtractedly in themſelves, of Alexander, in order to ſee what judgment we are to form of them.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the actions of this prince diffuſe a ſplendor that dazzles and aſtoniſhes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthuſiaſtic courage raiſes and tranſports all who read his hiſtory, as it tranſported himſelf. But ought we to give the name of bravery and valour to a boldneſs that is equally blind, raſh, and impetuous; a boldneſs void of all rule, that will never liſten to the voice of reaſon, and has no other guide than a ſenſeleſs ardour for falſe glory, and a wild deſire of diſtinguiſhing itſelf, be the methods ever ſo unlawful? This character ſuits only a military robber, who has no attendants; whoſe life is only expoſed; and who, for that reaſon, may be employed in ſome deſperate action: But it is far otherwiſe with regard to a king; for he owes his life to all his army, and his whole kingdom. If we except ſome very rare occaſions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his perſon, and ſhare the danger with his troops in order to preſerve them; he ought to call to mind, that there is a great difference between a general and a private ſoldier. True valour is not deſirous of diſplaying itſelf, is no ways anxious about its own reputation, but is ſolely intent in preſerving the army. It ſteers equally between a fearful wiſdom, that foreſees and dreads all difficulties, and a brutal ardour, which induſtriouſly purſues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accompliſhed general, prudence muſt ſoften and direct the too fiery temper of valour; as this latter muſt animate and warm the coldneſs and ſlowneſs of prudence.

Do any of theſe characteriſtics ſuit Alexander? When we peruſe hiſtory, and follow him to ſieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his ſafety, and that of his army; and conclude every moment that they are upon the point of being deſtroyed. Here we ſee a rapid flood, which is going to draw

in and ſwallow up this conqueror: There we behold a craggy rock, up which he climbs, and perceives round him ſoldiers, either transfixed by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge ſtones into precipices. We tremble when we perceive in a battle the ax juſt ready to cleave his head; and much more, when we behold him alone in a fortreſs, whither his raſhneſs had drawn him, expoſed to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever perſuaded that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreaſonable, as Plutarch obſerves; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at laſt are weary of guiding and preſerving raſh mortals, who abuſe the aſſiſtance they afford them.

[n] Plutarch, in a * treatiſe where he makes the eulogium of Alexander, and exhibits him as an accompliſhed hero, gives a long detail of the ſeveral wounds he received in every part of his body; and pretends that the only deſign of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to make his courage more conſpicuous. A renounced warrior, whoſe eulogium Plutarch has drawn in another part of his writings, did not judge in this manner. [o] Some perſons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle, the general himſelf declared, that it was a fault which could be excuſed only in a young man, and juſtly deſerved cenſure. It has been obſerved in Hannibal's praiſe, and I myſelf have taken notice of it elſewhere, that he was never wounded in all his battles. I cannot ſay whether Caeſar ever was.

The laſt obſervation, which relates in general to all Alexander's expeditions in Aſia, muſt neceſſarily leſſen very much the merit of his victories, and the ſplendor of his reputation; and this is the genius and character of the nations againſt whom he fought. Livy, in a digreſſion, where he inquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in caſe he had turned

[n] Plut. de fortun. Alex. orat. ii. p. 341.

[o] Timotheus, Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

* This treatiſe, if written by Plutarch, ſeems a juvenile performance, and has very much the air of a declamation.

† Mention is made but of one ſingle wound.

them towards Italy; and where he ſhews that Rome would certainly have checked his conqueſts, inſiſts ſtrongly on the reflection in queſtion. He oppoſes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illuſtrious Romans, who would have reſiſted him on all occaſions; and in the article of prudence, that auguſt ſenate, which Cyneas, to give a more noble idea of to Pyrrhus his ſovereign, ſaid, was compoſed of ſo many kings." "Had he marched †," ſays Livy, "againſt the Romans, "he would ſoon have found, that he was no longer combat-"ing againſt a Darius, who encumbered with gold and pur-"ple, the vain equipage of his grandeur, and dragging after "him a multitude of women and eunuchs, came as a prey ra-"ther than as an enemy; and whom Alexander conquered "without ſhedding much blood, and without wanting any "other merit, than that of daring to deſpiſe what was really "contemptible. He would have found Italy very different "from India, through which he marched in a riotous manner, "his army quite ſtupified with wine; particularly when he "ſhould have ſeen the foreſts of Apulia, the mountains of "Lucania, and the ſtill recent footſteps of the defeat of Alex-"ander his uncle, king of Epirus, who there loſt his life." The hiſtorian adds, that he ſpeaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by proſperity, whoſe ſubtile poiſon worked as ſtrongly upon him, as upon any man that ever lived: and he concludes, that being thus transformed, he would have appeared very different in Italy from what he had ſeemed hitherto.

Theſe reflections of Livy ſhew, that Alexander partly owed his victories to the weakneſs of his enemies; and that, had he met with nations as courageous, and as well inured to all the hardſhips of war, as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as thoſe of Rome; that then his victories would not have been either ſo rapid, or ſo uninterrupted. Ne-

† Non jam cum Dario rem eſſe dixiſſet, quem mulierum ac ſpadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunae ſuae apparatibus, praedam verius quam hoſtem, nihil aliud quam bene auſus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit. Longe alius Italiae, quam Indiae, per quam temulento agmine commeſſabundus inceſſit, viſus illi habitus eſſet, ſaltus Apuliae ac montes Lucanos cernenti, et veſtigia recentia domeſticae cladis, ubi avunculus ejus nuper, Epiri Rex, Alexander abſumptus erat. Liv. l. ix. n. 17.

vertheleſs, with ſome, from hence we are to judge of the merits of a conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are conſidered as two of the greateſt generals that ever lived; and for this reaſon: Both of them not only underſtood perfectly the military ſcience, but their experience, their abilities, their reſolution and courage, were put to the trial, and ſet in the ſtrongeſt light. Now, ſhould we give to either of them an unequal antagoniſt, one whoſe reputation is not anſwerable to theirs, we ſhall no longer have the ſame idea of them; and their victories, though ſuppoſed alike, appear no longer with the ſame luſtre, nor deſerve the ſame applauſe.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by ſhining actions and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themſelves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied but that Alexander poſſeſſed very great qualities; but if we throw into the other ſcale his errors and vices, the preſumptuous idea he entertained of his merit *, the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father; his ardent thirſt of praiſe and flattery; his ridiculous notion of fancying himſelf the ſon of Jupiter; of aſcribing divinity to himſelf; of requiring a free, victorious people to pay him a ſervile homage, and proſtrate themſelves ignominiouſly before him; his abandoning himſelf ſo ſhamefully to wine; his violent anger, which riſes to brutal ferocity; the unjuſt and barbarous execution of his braveſt and moſt faithful officers, and the murder of his moſt worthy friends in the midſt of feaſts and carouſals: Can any one, ſays Livy, believe, that all theſe imperfections do not greatly ſully the reputation of a conqueror? But Alexander's frantic ambition, which knows neither laws nor limits; the raſh intrepidity with which he braves dangers, without the leaſt reaſon or neceſſity; the weakneſs and ignorance of the nations, totally unſkilled in war, againſt whom he fought: Do not theſe enervate the reaſons for which he is thought to

* Referre in tanto Rege piget ſuperbam mutationem veſtis, et deſideratus humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus; et fœda ſupplicia, et inter vinum et epulas cædes amicorum, et vanitatem ementiendæ ſtirpis. Quid ſi vini amor in dies fieret acrior? quid ſi trux ac præfervida ira? (nec quicquam dubium inter ſcriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imperatoriis virtutibus ducimus? Liv. l. ix. n. 18.

have merited the ſurname of Great, and the title of Hero? This however I leave to the prudence and equity of my reader.

As to myſelf, I am ſurpriſed to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy, that when he is once equalled to this king, it is impoſſible for panegyric to ſoar higher: They cannot image to themſelves any thing more auguſt; and think they have omitted the ſtroke which finiſhes the glory of a hero, ſhould they not exalt him by this compariſon. In my opinion, this denotes a falſe taſte, a wrong turn of thinking; and, if I might be allowed to ſay it, a want of judgment, which muſt naturally ſhock a reaſonable mind. For, as Alexander was inveſted with ſupreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the ſeveral duties of the ſovereignty. We do not find that he poſſeſſed the firſt, the moſt eſſential, and moſt excellent virtues of a great prince, who is to be the father, the guardian, and ſhepherd of his people: to govern them by good laws; to make their trade, both by ſea and land, flouriſh; to encourage and protect arts and ſciences; to eſtabliſh peace and plenty, and not ſuffer his ſubjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured; to maintain an ageeeable harmony between all orders of the ſtate, and make them conſpire, in due proportion, to the public welfare; to employ himſelf in doing juſtice to all his ſubjects; to hear their diſputes, and reconcile them; to conſider himſelf as the father of his people, conſequently as obliged to provide for all their neceſſities, and to procure them the ſeveral enjoyments of life. Now Alexander, who almoſt a moment after he aſcended the throne, left Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endeavour at any of theſe things, which however are the chief and moſt ſubſtantial duties of a great prince.

He ſeems poſſeſſed of ſuch qualities only as are of the ſecond rank; I mean thoſe of war; and theſe are all extravagant; are carried to the raſheſt and moſt odious exceſs, and to the extremes of folly and fury; whilſt his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the inſatiable avarice of the

governors, who carried their oppreſſion ſo far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his ſoldiers appear in a more advantageous light: For theſe, after having plundered the wealth of the eaſt, and after the prince had given them the higheſt marks of his beneficence, grew ſo licentious, ſo debauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts, amounting to fifteen hundred thouſand pounds. What ſtrange men were theſe! how depraved their ſchool! how pernicious the fruit of their victories! Is it doing honour to a prince; is it adorning his panegyric, to compare him with ſuch a model?

The Romans indeed ſeem to have held Alexander's memory in great veneration; but I very much queſtion, whether, in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been conſidered as ſo great a man. Caeſar [p] ſeeing his ſtatue in a temple in Spain, during his government of it, after his praetorſhip, could not forbear groaning and ſighing, when he compared the few glorious actions achieved by him, to the mighty exploits of this conqueror. It was ſaid that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dreſſed in that king's ſurtout. Auguſtus pardoned the Alexandrians for the ſake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he aſſumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried his veneration for this monarch ſo far as Caracalla. He uſed the ſame kind of arms and goblets as that prince: He had a Macedonian phalanx in his army: He perſecuted the Peripatetics, and would have burned all the books of Ariſtotle their founder, becauſe he was ſuſpected to have conſpired with thoſe who poiſoned Alexander.

I believe that I may juſtly aſſert, that if an impartial perſon of good ſenſe reads Plutarch's lives of illuſtrious men with attention, they will leave ſuch a tacit and ſtrong impreſſion in his mind, as will make him conſider Alexander one of the leaſt valuable among them. But how ſtrong would the contraſt be found, had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannibal, and Scipio, the loſs of which can never be too much regret-

[p] Diod. l. xxxvii. p. 53. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Dion. l. li. p. 454. Id. l. lix. p. 653. Id. l. lxvii. p. 873.

ted! How little would Alexander appear, ſet off with all his titles, and ſurrounded by all his conqueſts, even if conſidered in a military light, when compared to thoſe heroes who were truly great, and worthy their exalted reputation!

SECTION XX.

Reflections on the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, by M. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux.

The reader will not be diſpleaſed with my inſerting here part of the admirable reflections * of the biſhop of Meaux, on the character and government of the Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians, whoſe hiſtory we have heard.

The Greek nations, ſeveral of whom had at firſt lived under a monarchical form of government, having ſtudied the arts of civil polity, imagined they were able to govern themſelves, and moſt of their cities formed themſelves into commonwealths. But the wiſe legiſlators, who aroſe in every country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in hiſtory, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiouſneſs. Laws drawn up with great ſimplicity, and few in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conſpire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which ſuch a conduct inſpired, was wonderful. For the liberty which the Greeks figured to themſelves, was ſubject to the law, that is, to reaſon itſelf, acknowledged as ſuch by the whole nation. They would not let men riſe to power among them. Magiſtrates, who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was conſidered as their ſovereign; it was ſhe appointed magiſtrates, preſcribed the limits of their power, and puniſhed their mal-adminiſtration. The advantage of this government was, the citizens bore ſo much the greater love to their country, as all ſhared in the government of it; and as every individual was capable of attaining its higheſt dignities.

* Diſcourſe on univerſal hiſtory. Part iii. chap. 4.

The advantage which accrued to Greece from philoſophy, with regard to the preſervation of its form of government, is incredible. The greater freedom theſe nations enjoyed, the greater neceſſity there was to ſettle the laws relating to manners and thoſe of ſociety, agreeable to reaſon and good ſenſe. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Ariſtotle, and a multitude more, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why ſhould we mention philoſophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in every body's hands, diverted them very much, but inſtructed them ſtill more. The moſt renowned of conquerors conſidered Homer as a maſter, who taught him to govern wiſely. This great poet inſtructed people, no leſs happily, in obedience, and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, ſaw the delicacy of the Aſiatics; their dreſs and beauty, emulating that of women; they held them in the utmoſt contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the moſt ſacred, inſpired them with horror; and the Barbarians were the moſt hateful objects to Greece.

[q] The Greeks had imbibed this hatred in the moſt early times; and it was become almoſt natural to them. A circumſtance which made thoſe nations delight ſo much in Homer's poems, was his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Aſia. On the ſide of Aſia was Venus, that is to ſay, the pleaſures, the idle loves, and effeminacy: On that of Greece was Juno, or, in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wiſe policy. With the Aſiatics was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity; that is to ſay, war carried on with fury: With the Greeks Pallas, or, in other words, the ſcience of war and valour, conducted by reaſon. The Grecians, from this time, had ever imagined, that underſtanding and true bravery were natural as well as peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Aſia's deſign to conquer them; and in bowing to

[q] Iſocr. in Panegyr.

this yoke, they would have thought they had ſubjected virtue to pleaſure, the mind to the body, and true courage to force without reaſon, which conſiſted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were ſtrongly inſpired with theſe ſentiments, when Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and Xerxes, invaded them with armies ſo prodigiouſly numerous as exceeds all belief. The Perſians found often, to their coſt, the great advantage which diſcipline has over multitude and confuſion; and how greatly ſuperior courage, when conducted by art, is to a blind impetuoſity.

Perſia, after having been ſo often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to ſow diviſions among them; and the height to which conqueſt had raiſed the latter, facilitated this effect. [r] As fear held them in the bands of union, victory and ſecurity diſſolved them. Having always been uſed to fight and conquer, they no ſooner believed that the power of the Perſians could not diſtreſs them, but they turned their arms againſt each other.

Among the ſeveral republics of which Greece was compoſed, Athens and Lacedaemon were undoubtedly the chief. Theſe two great commonwealths, whoſe manners and conduct were directly oppoſite, perplexed and incommoded one another, in the common deſign they had of ſubjecting all Greece; ſo that they were eternally at variance, and this more from a contrariety of intereſts, than an oppoſition of tempers and diſpoſitions.

The Grecian cities would not ſubject themſelves to either: for beſides that every one of them deſired to live free and independent, they were not pleaſed with the government of either of thoſe two commonwealths. We have ſhewn, in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the Peloponneſian, and other wars, were either owing to, or ſupported by, the reciprocal jealouſy of Lacedaemonia and Athens. But at the ſame time that this jealouſy diſturbed, it ſupported Greece in ſome meaſure; and kept it from being dependent on either of thoſe republics.

The Perſians ſoon perceived this ſtate and condition of Greece; after which, the whole ſecret of their politics was to

[r] Plat. de Leg. l. iii.

keep up theſe jealouſies, and foment theſe diviſions. Lacedaemonia, being the moſt ambitious, was the firſt that made them engage in the Grecian quarrels. The Perſians took part in them, with a view of ſubjecting the whole nation; and induſtrious to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable inſtant to cruſh them altogether. [s] And now the cities of Greece conſidered, in their wars, only the king of Perſia, whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themſelves his ſubjects. However, when Greece was upon the brink of ſlavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the Barbarians, it was impoſſible for the genius, the ancient ſpirit of the country, not to rouſe and take the alarm. Ageſilaus, king of Lacedaemonia, made the Perſians tremble in Aſia Minor, and ſhewed that they might be humbled. Their weakneſs was ſtill more evident, by the glorious retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, who had followed the younger Cyrus.

It was then that all Greece ſaw, more plainly than ever, that it poſſeſſed an invincible body of ſoldiery, which was able ſubdue all nations; and that nothing but its feuds and diviſions could ſubject it to an enemy, who was too weak to reſiſt it when united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whoſe abilities were equal to his valour, took ſo great advantage of the diviſions which reigned between the various cities and commonwealths, that though his kingdom was but ſmall, yet, as it was united, and his power abſolute, he at laſt, partly by artifice, and partly by ſtrength, roſe to greater power than any of the Grecian ſtates, and obliged them all to march under his ſtandards againſt the common enemy. This was the ſtate of Greece when Philip loſt his life, and Alexander his ſon ſucceeded to his kingdom, and to the deſigns he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his acceſſion, were not only well diſciplined, and inured to toils, but triumphant; and become, by ſo many ſucceſſes, almoſt as much ſuperior to the other Greeks

[s] Plut. de Leg. l. iii. Iſocrat. in Paneg.

in valour and diſcipline, as the reſt of the Greeks were ſuperior to the Perſians, and to ſuch nations as reſembled them.

Darius, who reigned over Perſia in Alexander's time, was a juſt, brave, and generous prince; was beloved by his ſubjects, and wanted neither good ſenſe nor vigour, for the execution of his deſigns. But if we compare them; if we oppoſe the genius of Darius, to the penetrating, ſublime one of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty, invincible courage, which obſtacles animated, of the latter; with that boundleſs deſire of Alexander, of augmenting his glory, and his entire belief that all things ought to bow the neck to him, as being formed by providence ſuperior to the reſt of mortals; a belief with which he inſpired, not only his generals, but the meaneſt of his ſoldiers, who thereby roſe above difficulties, and even above themſelves: The reader will eaſily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious.

If to theſe conſiderations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it muſt be confeſſed, that it was impoſſible for the Perſian empire to ſubſiſt any longer, when invaded by ſo great a hero, and by ſuch invincible armies. And thus we diſcover, at one and the ſame time, the circumſtance which ruined the empire of the Perſians, and raiſed that of Alexander.

To ſmooth his way to victory, the Perſians happened to loſe the only general who was able to make head againſt the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes. So long as Alexander fought againſt this illuſtrious warrior, he might glory in having vanquiſhed an enemy worthy of himſelf. But in the very infancy of a diverſion, which began already to divide Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to give way before him.

This prince made his entrance into Babylon, with a ſplendor and magnificence which had never been ſeen before; and, after having revenged Greece; after ſubduing, with incredible ſwiftneſs, all the nations ſubject to Perſia; to ſecure his new empire on every ſide, or rather to ſatiate his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he march-

ed into India, and there extended his conquefts farther than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch, whofe impetuous career neither deferts, rivers, nor mountains could ftop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his foldiers, who called aloud for eafe and repofe.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and refpected, not as a conqueror but as a god. Nevertheleſs, the formidable empire he had acquired, fubfifted no longer than his life, which was but fhort. At thirty-three years of age, in the midft of the grandeft deſigns that ever man formed, and flufhed with the fureft hopes of fuccefs, he died, before he had leifure to fettle his affairs on a folid foundation; leaving behind him a weak brother, and children very young, all incapable of fupporting the weight of fuch a power.

But the circumftance which proved moft fatal to his family and empire, was, his having taught the generals who furvived him, to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foreſaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death. To curb their ambitious views, and for fear of miftaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his fucceſſor, or the guardian of his children. He only foretold, that his friends would folemnize his obſequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full of the ſad images of the confuſion which would follow his death.

And, indeed, Macedonia, the kingdom he inherited, which his anceſtors had governed during ſo many ages, was invaded on all ſides, as a ſucceſſion that was become vacant; and after being long expoſed a prey, was at laſt poſſeſſed by another family. Thus this great conqueror, the moſt renowned the world ever ſaw, was the laſt king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the vaſt bounds of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals; and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his anceſtors. But, riſing to too exalted an height of power, he proved the deſtruction of his poſterity; and ſuch was the glorious fruit of all his conqueſts.

BOOK SIXTEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

PLAN.

This chapter contains the competition and wars that ſubſiſted between the generals of Alexander, from the death of that prince to the battle of Ipſus in Phrygia, which decided their ſeveral fates. Theſe events include the ſpace of twenty-three years, which coincide with the firſt twenty-three years of the reign of Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, from the year of the world 3681 to the year 3704.

SECTION I.

TROUBLES which followed the DEATH of ALEXANDER. PARTITION of the PROVINCES. ARIDAEUS is declared KING. PERDICCAS appointed his GUARDIAN.

IN relating the death of Alexander the Great, I mentioned the many troubles and commotions that aroſe in the army on the firſt news of that event. All the troops in general, ſoldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up, at firſt, with the loſs of a prince whom they loved as a father, and reverenced almoſt as a god, and abandoned themſelves immoderately to grief and tears. A mournful ſilence reigned throughout the camp; but this was ſoon ſucceeded by diſmal ſighs and cries, which ſpeak the true language of the heart, and never flow from a vain oſtentation of ſorrow, which is too often paid to cuſtom and decorum on ſuch occaſions *.

When the firſt impreſſions of grief had given place to reflection, they began to conſider, with the utmoſt conſternation, the ſtate in which the death of Alexander had left them.

* Paſſim ſilentia et gemitus; nihil compoſitum in oſtentationem—altius moerebant. Tacit.

They found themſelves at an infinite diſtance from their native country, and amidſt a people lately ſubdued, ſo little accuſtomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their preſent maſters, and had not as yet had ſufficient time to forget their ancient laws, and that form of government under which they had always lived. What meaſures could be taken to keep a country of ſuch vaſt extent in ſubjection? How could it be poſſible to ſuppreſs thoſe ſeditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all ſides in that deciſive moment? What expedients could be formed to reſtrain thoſe troops within the limits of their duty, who had been ſo long habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs, whoſe views and pretenſions were ſo different?

The only remedy for theſe various calamities ſeemed to conſiſt in a ſpeedy nomination of a ſucceſſor to Alexander; and the troops, as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian ſtate, ſeemed at firſt to be very deſirous of this expedient: And indeed their common intereſt and ſecurity, with the preſervation of their new conqueſts, amidſt the barbarous nations that ſurrounded them, made it neceſſary for them to conſider this election as their firſt and moſt important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a perſon qualified to fill ſo arduous a ſtation, and ſuſtain the weight of it in ſuch a manner as to be capable of ſupporting the general order and tranquillity. But it had already been written, "[t] That the "kingdom of Alexander ſhould be divided and rent aſunder "after his death," and that it ſhould not be tranſmitted in the uſual manner "to his poſterity." No efforts of human wiſdom could eſtabliſh a ſole ſucceſſor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, conſult, and decide[u]; nothing could be executed contrary to the pre-ordained event, and nothing ſhort of it could poſſibly ſubſiſt. A ſuperior and invincible power had already diſpoſed of the kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in the ſequel. The circumſtances of this partition had been denounced near three cen-

[t] Dan. xi. 4.

[u] Non erit, non ſtabit, non fiet. Hal.

turies before this time; the portions of it had already been aſſigned to different poſſeſſors; and nothing could fruſtrate that diviſion, which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men indeed might raiſe commotions, and concert a variety of movements; but all their efforts would only tend to the accompliſhment of what had been ordained by the ſovereign maſter of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

Alexander had a ſon by Barſina, and had conferred the name of Hercules upon him. Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewiſe a natural brother called Aridaeus; but he would not upon his death-bed diſpoſe of his dominions in favour of any heir; for which reaſon this vaſt empire, which no longer had a maſter to ſway it, became a ſource of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreſeen, when he declared, that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles.

The diviſion was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was ſo ſuperior to his colleagues, either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire, and ſubmit to his authority. The cavalry were deſirous that Aridaeus ſhould ſucceed Alexander. This prince had diſcovered but little force of mind from the time he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indiſpoſition, occaſioned, as was pretended, by ſome particular drink, which had been given him by Olympias, and which had diſordered his underſtanding. This ambitious princeſs being apprehenſive that the engaging qualities ſhe diſcovered in Aridaeus, would be ſo many obſtacles to the greatneſs of her ſon Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourſe to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared againſt this prince, and were headed by Ptolemy, and other chiefs of great reputation, who began to think of their own particular eſtabliſhment. For a ſudden revolution was working in the minds of theſe officers, and cauſed them to contemn the rank of private perſons, and all dependency and ſubordination, with a view of aſpiring to ſovereign power,

which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they had never thought themſelves qualified to pretend, before this conjuncture of affairs.

[u] Theſe diſputes, which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the ſpace of ſeven days; and, if we may credit ſome authors, the body continued uncorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner; and Aridaeus, a different perſon from him I have already mentioned, was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.

After a variety of troubles and agitations had intervened, the principal officers aſſembled at a conference; where it was unanimouſly concluded, that Aridaeus ſhould be king, or rather that he ſhould be inveſted with the ſhadow of royalty. The infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the very motive of their advancing him to it, and united all ſuffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretenſions of all the chiefs, and covered their deſigns. It was alſo agreed in this aſſembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the fifth or ſixth month of her pregnancy, ſhould have a ſon, he ſhould be aſſociated with Aridaeus in the throne. Perdiccas, to whom Alexander had left his ring, in the laſt moments of his life, had the perſon of the prince conſigned to his care as a guardian, and was conſtituted regent of the kingdom.

The ſame aſſembly, whatever reſpect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought fit to annul ſome of his regulations, which had been deſtructive to the ſtate, and had exhauſted his treaſury. He had given orders for ſix temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expence of each of theſe ſtructures at five hundred talents, which amounted to five hundred thouſand crowns. He had likewiſe ordered a pyramid to be raiſed over the tomb of his father Philip, which was to be finiſhed with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt, eſteemed one of the ſeven wonders of the world. He had likewiſe

u Q. Curt. l. x. Juſtin. l. xiii. Diod. l. xviii.

planned out other expences of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the aſſembly.

[x] Within a ſhort time after theſe proceedings, Roxana was delivered of a ſon, who was named Alexander, and acknowledged king, jointly with Aridaeus. But neither of theſe princes poſſeſſed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals, who had divided the provinces among themſelves.

In Europe; Thrace and the adjacent regions were conſigned to Lyſimachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece, were alloted to Antipater and Craterus.

In Africa; Egypt, and the other conqueſts of Alexander in Libya and Cyrenaica, were aſſigned to Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth in the autumn is the epocha, from whence the years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not aſſume the title of king, in conjunction with the other ſucceſſors of Alexander, till about ſeventeen years after this event.

In the leſſer Aſia; Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, were given to Antigonus; Caria, to Caſſander; Lydia, to Menander; the leſſer Phyrgia, to Leonatus; Armenia, to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. Theſe two provinces had never been ſubjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia continued to govern them as formerly; Alexander have advanced with ſo much rapidity to his other conqueſts, as left him no inclination to amuſe himſelf with the entire reduction of that province, contented himſelf with a ſlight ſubmiſſion.

Syria and Phoenicia fell to Laomedon; one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other to Perdiccas. Perſia was aſſigned to Peuceſtes; Babylonia, to Archon; Meſopotamia, to Arceſilas: Parthia and Hyrcania, to Phrataphernes; Bactria and Sogdiana, to Philip; the other regions were divided among generals whoſe names are now but little known.

Seleucus, the ſon of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a poſt of great importance;

x Diod. l. xviii. p. 587, 588. Juſtin. l. xiii. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 10.

and Caſſander the ſon of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

The upper Aſia, which extends almoſt to India, and even India alſo, were left in the poſſeſſion of thoſe who had been appointed governors of thoſe countries by Alexander.

[y] The ſame diſpoſition generally prevailed in all the provinces I have already mentioned; and it is in this ſenſe that moſt interpreters explain that paſſage in the Maccabees, which declares, that Alexander, having aſſembled the great men of his court who had been bred up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his life-time. And indeed it was very probable, that this prince, when he ſaw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a ſucceſſor himſelf, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the governments he had formerly aſſigned them, which is ſufficient to authorize the declaration in the Maccabees, "That he divided "his kingdom among them whilſt he was living."

This partition was only the work of man, and its duration was but ſhort. That Being, who reigns alone, and is the only king of ages, had decreed a different diſtribution. He aſſigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries and extent; and his diſpoſition alone was to ſubſiſt.

The partition concluded upon in the aſſembly, was the ſource of various diviſions and wars, as will be evident in the ſeries of this hiſtory; each of theſe governors claiming the exerciſe of an independent and ſovereign power in his particular province. [z] They however paid that veneration to the memory of Alexander, as not to aſſume the title of king, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct.

Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, ſome diſtinguiſhed themſelves more than others by their reputation, merit, and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, agreeably to their particular views, either of intereſt or ambition. For it it is not to be imagined, that the reſolutions which are formed in conjunctures of

y Maccab. l. i. n. 6, ct. 7.
z Juſtin. l. xv. c. 2.

this nature, are much influenced by a devotion to the public good.

[a] Eumenes muſt however be excepted; for he undoubtedly was the moſt virtuous man among all the governors, and had no ſuperior in true bravery. He was always firm in the intereſt of the two kings, from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia, a city of Thrace; and his birth was but obſcure. Philip, who had obſerved excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own perſon in the quality of ſecretary, and repoſed great confidence in him. He was equally eſteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of his eſteem. Barſina, the firſt lady for whom this perſon had entertained a paſſion in Aſia, and by whom he had a ſon named Hercules, had a ſiſter of the ſame name with her own, and the king eſpouſed her to Eumenes *. We ſhall ſee by the event, that this wiſe favourite conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner as juſtly entitled him to the favour of thoſe two princes, even after their death; and all his ſentiments and actions will make it evident that a man may be a plebeian by birth, and yet very noble by nature.

[b] I have already intimated, that Syſigambis, who had patiently ſupported the death of her father, huſband, and ſon, was incapable of ſurviving Alexander. [c] The death of this princeſs was ſoon followed by that of her two youngeſt daughters, Statira the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the relict of Hephaeſtion. Roxana, who was apprehenſive leſt Statira ſhould be pregnant by Alexander as well as herſelf, and that the birth of a prince would fruſtrate the meaſures which had been taken to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the ſon ſhe hoped to have prevailed upon the two ſiſters to viſit her, and ſecretly deſtroyed them in concert with Perdiccas, her only confident in that impious proceeding.

It is now time to enter upon a detail of thoſe actions that were performed by the ſucceſſors of Alexander. I ſhall therefore begin with the defection of the Greeks in Upper Aſia, and

[a] Plut. in Eumen. p. 583. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 1.
[b] Q. Curt. l. x. c. 5. [c] Plut. in Alex.

* Arrian declares he had another wife. Lib. vii. p. 278.

with the war which Antipater had to ſuſtain againſt Greece; becauſe thoſe tranſactions are moſt detached, and in a manner diſtinct from the other events.

SECTION II.

REVOLT of the GREEKS in UPPER ASIA. ANTIPATER goes into GREECE, FLIGHT and DEATH of DEMOSTHENES.

THE Greeks [d], whom Alexander had eſtabliſhed in the form of colonies, in the provinces of Upper Aſia, continued with reluctance in thoſe ſettlements, becauſe they did not experience thoſe delights and ſatisfactions with which they had flattered themſelves, and had long cheriſhed an ardent deſire of returning into their own country. They, however, durſt not diſcover their uneaſineſs whilſt Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions. They armed twenty thouſand foot, all warlike and experienced ſoldiers, with three thouſand horſe; and, having placed Philon at their head, they prepared for their departure, without taking counſel, or receiving orders from any but themſelves, as if they had been ſubject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any ſuperior.

Perdiccas, who foreſaw the conſequence of ſuch an enterpriſe, at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops, as well as their officers, breathed nothing but independency, ſent Pithon to oppoſe them. The merit of this officer was acknowledged by all; and he willingly charged himſelf with this commiſſion, in expectation of gaining over thoſe Greeks, and of procuring himſelf ſome conſiderable eſtabliſhment in Upper Aſia by their means. Perdiccas, being acquainted with his deſign, gave a very ſurpriſing order to the Macedonians whom he ſent with that general, which was to exterminate the revolters entirely. Pithon, on his arrival, brought over, by money, three thouſand Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occaſion of his obtaining a complete victory. The vanquiſhed troops ſurrendered; but made the preſervation of their lives and liberties the con-

[d] A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 323. Diod. l. xviii. p. 591, 592.

dition of their ſubmitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Pithon's deſign; but he was no longer maſter of its execution. The Macedonians, thinking it incumbent on them to accompliſh the orders of Perdiccas, inhumanly ſlaughtered all the Greeks, without the leaſt regard to the terms they had granted them. Pithon being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

[c] This expedition was ſoon ſucceeded by the Grecian war. The news of Alexander's death being brought to Athens, had excited great rumours, and occaſioned a joy that was almoſt univerſal. The people, who had long ſuſtained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had impoſed on Greece, made liberty the ſubject of all their diſcourſe: They breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themſelves to all the extravagant emotions of a ſenſeleſs and exceſſive joy. Phocion, who was a perſon of wiſdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm the turbulancy of their minds, which rendered them incapable of counſel and ſedate reflection. As the generality of the orators, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, believed the news of Alexander's death, Phocion roſe up, and expreſſed himſelf in this manner: "If he be really dead to-day, he will likewiſe "be ſo to-morrow, and the next day; ſo that we will have "time enough to deliberate in a calm manner, and with "greater ſecurity."

Leoſthenes, who was the firſt that publiſhed this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the people with exceſſive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his ſpeeches, ſaid to him, "Young man, your diſcourſe reſembles the "cypreſs, which is tall and ſpreading, but bears no fruit." He gave great offence, by oppoſing the inclinations of the people in ſo ſtrenuous a manner, and Hyperides, riſing up, aſked him this queſtion, "When would you adviſe the Athenians "to make war?" "As ſoon," replied Phocion, "as I ſee "the young men firmly reſolved to obſerve a ſtrict diſcipline; "the rich diſpoſed to contribute according to their abilities,

[c] Plut. in Phoc. p. 751, 752.

" to the expence of a war; and when the orators no longer " rob the public."

All the remoſtrances of Phocion were ineffectual; a war was reſolved upon, and a deputation agreed to be ſent to all the ſtates of Greece, to engage their acceſſion to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country, under the conduct of Leoſthenes, againſt Antipater; and it was called the Lamian war, from the name of a city where the latter was defeated in the firſt battle.

[f] Demoſthenes, who was then an exile at Megara, but who amidſt his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the intereſt of his country, and the defence of the common liberty, joined himſelf with the Athenian ambaſſadors ſent into Peloponneſus, and having ſeconded their remonſtrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he engaged Sicyone, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponneſus, to accede to the league.

The Athenians were ſtruck with admiration at a zeal ſo noble and generous, and immediately paſſed a decree to recall him from baniſhment. A galley with three ranks of oars was diſpatched to him at Ægina; and, when he entered the port of Piraeus, all the magiſtrates and prieſts advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illuſtrious exile, and received him with the utmoſt demonſtrations of affection and joy, blended at the ſame time with an air of ſorrow and repentance for the injury they had done him. Demoſthenes was ſenſibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him; and whilſt he returned, as it were in triumph, to his country, amidſt the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, to thank the gods for ſo illuſtrious a protection, and congratulated himſelf on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that had proved to Alcibiades, on which he returned from his exile. For his citizens received him from the pure effect of deſire and will; whereas the reception of Alcibiades was involuntary, and his entrance a compulſion upon their inclinations.

[f] Plut. in Demoſt. p. 858. Juſtin. l. xiii. c. 5.

[s] The generality of thoſe who were far advanced in years, were extremely apprehenſive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the conſequences with all the attention and ſedateneſs that an enterpriſe of ſo much importance required. They were ſenſible alſo, that there was no neceſſity for declaring themſelves ſo openly againſt the Macedonians, whoſe veteran troops were very formidable; and the example of Thebes, which was deſtroyed by the ſame temerity of conduct, added to their conſternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the diſtractions of the public affairs, and to whom, according to the obſervation of Philip, war was peace, and peace war, would not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs propoſed to their conſideration, but drew them into their ſentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which preſented them with nothing but ſcenes of future conqueſts and triumphs.

Demoſthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different ſentiments on this occaſion, which was no extraordinary circumſtance with reſpect to them. It is not my province to determine which of them had reaſon on his ſide: But, in ſuch a perplexing conjuncture as this, there is nothing ſurpriſing in a contrariety of opinions, though the reſult of good intentions on both ſides. Phocion's ſcheme was, perhaps, the moſt prudent, and that of Demoſthenes the moſt glorious.

However that were, a conſiderable army was raiſed, and a very numerous fleet fitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn out. Three of the ten tribes that compoſed the republic, were left for the defence of Attica; the reſt marched out with the reſt of the allies, under the command of Leoſthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during theſe tranſactions in Greece, of which he had been appriſed; and he had ſent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to ſolicit their aſſiſtance; but before the arrival of the expected ſuccours, he marched at the head of only thirteen thouſand

[s] Diod. l. xviii. p. 594—599.

Macedonians, and ſix hundred horſe; the frequent recruits which he had ſent Alexander, having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is ſurpriſing that Antipater ſhould attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with ſuch a handful of men; but he undoubtedly imagined, that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their ancient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceaſed to conſider it as ſuch an inеſtimable advantage, as ought to inſpire them with a reſolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its preſervation. He flattered himſelf that they had begun to familiarize themſelves with ſubjection; and indeed this was the diſpoſition of the Greeks at that time, in whom appeared no longer the deſcendants of thoſe who had ſo gallantly ſuſtained all the efforts of the Eaſt, and fought a million of men for the preſervation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Theſſaly, and was followed by his fleet, which cruiſed along the ſea coaſt. It conſiſted of one hundred and ten triremes, or gallies of three benches of oars. The Theſſalians declared at firſt in his favour; but having afterwards changed their ſentiments, they joined the Athenians, and ſupplied them with a great body of horſe.

As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not ſupport the charge, and was defeated in the firſt battle. As he durſt not hazard a ſecond, and was in no condition to make a ſafe retreat into Macedonia, he ſhut himſelf up in Lamia, a ſmall city in Theſſaly, in order to wait for the ſuccours that were to be tranſmitted to him from Aſia; and he fortified himſelf in that place, which was ſoon beſieged by the Athenians.

The aſſault was carried on with great bravery againſt the town; and the reſiſtance was equally vigorous. Leoſthenes, after ſeveral attempts, deſpairing to carry it by force, changed the ſiege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He ſurrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a very deep ditch, and by theſe means cut off all ſupplies of proviſion. The city ſoon became ſenſible of the growing ſcar-

city, and the beſieged began to be ſeriouſly diſpoſed to ſurrender; when Leoſthenes, in a ſally they made upon him, received a conſiderable wound, which rendered it neceſſary for him to be carried to his tent. Upon which the command of the army was conſigned to Antiphilus, who was equally eſteemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

[h] Leonatus, in the mean time, was marching to the aſſiſtance of the Macedonians beſieged in Lamia; and was commiſſioned, as well as Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals, to eſtabliſh Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other meaſures, in conſequence of ſome particular views. Leonatus, who repoſed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting, that the engagement to aſſiſt Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himſelf maſter of Macedonia. He at the ſame time ſhewed him letters from Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promiſed to eſpouſe him. Leonatus being arrived within a little diſtance of Lamia, marched directly to the enemy, with twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe. Proſperity had introduced diſorders in the Grecian army; ſeveral parties of ſoldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminiſhed the number of the troops, who were now reduced to twenty-two thouſand foot. The cavalry amounted to three thouſand five hundred, two thouſand of whom were Theſſalians; and as they conſtituted the main ſtrength of the army, ſo all hopes of ſucceſs were founded in them; and accordingly, when the battle was fought, this body of horſe had the greateſt ſhare of the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon. Leonatus, covered with wounds, loſt his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian phalanx greatly dreaded the ſhock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated to eminences inacceſſible to the purſuit of the Theſſalians. The Greeks having carried off their dead, erected a trophy, and retired.

[h] A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 321. Plut. in Eumen. p. 584.

[i] The whole converſation at Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leoſthenes, who ſurvived his honours but a ſhort time. An univerſal joy ſpread through the city; feſtivals were celebrated, and ſacrifices offered without intermiſſion, to teſtify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained. The enemies of Phocion thinking to mortify him in the moſt ſenſible manner, and reduce him to an incapacity of juſtifying his conſtant oppoſition to that war, aſked him if he would not have rejoiced to have performed ſo many glorious actions? "Undoubtedly I would," replied Phocion; "but I would not, at the ſame time, have neglected to offer "the advice I gave†." He did not think that a judgment ought to be formed of any particular counſel from mere ſucceſs, but rather from the nature and ſolidity of the counſel itſelf; and he did not retract his ſentiments, becauſe thoſe of an oppoſite nature had been ſucceſsful, which only proved the latter more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as theſe agreeable advices came thick upon each other, Phocion, who was apprehenſive of the ſequel, cried out, "When ſhall we "ceaſe to conquer then?"

Antipater was obliged to ſurrender by capitulation; but hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us the conditions of the treaty. The event only makes it evident, that Leoſthenes compelled him to ſurrender at diſcretion, and he himſelf died a few days after of the wounds he had received at the ſiege. Antipater having quitted Lamia the day after the battle, for he ſeems to have been favourably treated, joined the remains of the army of Leonatus, and took upon him the command of thoſe troops. He was extremely cautious of hazarding a ſecond battle, and kept with his troops, like a judicious and experienced general, on eminences inacceſſible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphilus, the general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in Theſſaly, and contented himſelf with obſerving the motions of Antipater.

i Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

† Non damnavit quod recte viderat, quia, quod alius male conſulerat, bene ceſſerat: felicius hoc exiſtimans, illud etiam ſapientius. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 8.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, obtained, much about the ſame time, two victories, near the iſlands of Echinedes, over Eetion the admiral of the Athenian navy.

[k] Craterus, who had been long expected, arrived at laſt in Theſſaly, and halted at the river Peneus. He reſigned the command to Antipater, and was contented to ſerve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with thoſe of Leonatus, to above forty thouſand foot, three thouſand archers or ſlingers, and five thouſand horſe. The army of the allies was much inferior to theſe troops in number, and conſiſted of no more than twenty-five thouſand foot, and three thouſand five hundred horſe. Military diſcipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A conſiderable battle was fought near Cranon, in which the Greeks were defeated; they, however, loſt but few troops; and even that diſadvanaage was occaſioned by the licentious conduct of the ſoldiers, and the ſmall authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of inforcing obedience to their commands.

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, aſſembled a council the next day, to deliberate whether they ſhould wait the return of thoſe troops who had retired into their own country, or propoſe terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter; upon which deputies were immediately diſpatched to the enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied, that he would enter into a ſeparate treaty with each of the cities, perſuading himſelf that he ſhould facilitate the accompliſhment of his deſigns by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His anſwer broke off the negotiation; and the moment he preſented himſelf before the cities of the allies, they diſbanded their troops, and ſurrendered up their liberties in the moſt puſillanimous manner, each city being ſolely attentive to its ſeparate advantage.

This circumſtance is a ſufficient confirmation of what I have formerly obſerved with relation to the preſent diſpoſition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the

[k] Diod. l. xviii. p. 599—602.

noble zeal of thoſe ancient aſſerters of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the public, and the glory of the nation; who conſidered the danger of their neighbours and allies as their own, and marched with the utmoſt expedition to their aſſiſtance upon the firſt ſignal of their diſtreſs. Whereas now, if a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republics of Greece had neither activity nor vigour; Peloponneſus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if ſhe had never exiſted. Unhappy effects of the mutual jealouſy which thoſe people had conceived againſt each other, and of their diſregard to the common liberty, in conſequence of a fatal lethargy, into which they were ſunk amidſt the greateſt dangers! Theſe are ſymptoms which prognoſticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

[1] Antipater improved this deſertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which ſaw herſelf abandoned by all her allies, and conſequently in no condition to defend herſelf againſt a potent and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demoſthenes, and all thoſe of his party, who may be conſidered as the laſt true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring liberty, retired from that place; and the people, in order to transfer upon thoſe great men the reproach reſulting from their declaration of war againſt Antipater, and likewiſe to obtain his good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot, that theſe are the ſame people who had lately recalled Demoſthenes by a decree ſo much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.

The ſame Demades procured a ſecond decree for ſending ambaſſadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they ſhould be inveſted with full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. Phocion himſelf was at their head; and the conqueror declared, that he expected the Athenians ſhould entirely ſubmit the terms to his regulation, in the manner as he himſelf had acted, when he was beſieged in the city of La-

[1] Plut. in Phoc. p. 753, 754.

mia, and had conformed to the capitulation impoſed upon him by Leoſthenes their general.

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with this anſwer, and they were compelled to acquieſce in the conditions, as rigid as they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the reſt of the ambaſſadors, with whom Xenocrates had been aſſociated, in hopes that the appearance alone of ſo celebrated a philoſopher would inſpire Antipater with reſpect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But ſurely they muſt have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent and inhuman diſpoſition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themſelves, that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of reſpect for the virtue of a ſingle man, or in conſequence of an harangue uttered by a philoſopher, who had declared againſt him. Antipater would not even condeſcend to caſt his eyes upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference, for he was commiſſioned to be the ſpeaker on this occaſion, he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and perceiving that he continued in his diſcourſe, commanded him to be ſilent. But he did not treat Phocion in the ſame manner; for after he had attended to his diſcourſe, he replied, "That he was diſpoſed to contract a friend-"ſhip and alliance with the Athenians on the following con-"ditions: They ſhould deliver up Demoſthenes and Hyperi-"des to him; the government ſhould be reſtored to its an-"cient plan, by which all employments in the ſtate were to be "conferred upon the rich; that they ſhould receive a garri-"ſon into the port of Munychia; that they ſhould defray all "the expences of the war, and alſo a large ſum, the amount "of which ſhould be ſettled." Thus, according to Diodorus, none but thoſe whoſe yearly income exceeded two thouſand drachms, were to be admitted into any ſhare of the government for the future, or to have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himſelf abſolute maſter of Athens by this regulation, being very ſenſible, that the rich men who enjoyed public employments, and had large revenues, would become his de-

pendants much more effectually than a poor and defpicable populace, who had nothing to lofe, and would be only guided by their own caprice.

All the ambaffadors but Xenocrates were well contented with thefe conditions, which they thought were very moderate, conſidering their preſent ſituation; but that philoſopher judged otherwiſe. "They are very moderate for ſlaves," ſaid he. "but extremely ſevere for free men.

The Athenians were therefore compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garriſon, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and by ſome Phocion's particular friends. The troops took poſſeſſion of the place during the feſtival of the great myſteries, and the very day on which it was uſual to carry the god Iacchus in poſſeſſion from the city to Eleuſina. This was a melancholy conjuncture for the Athenians, and affected them with the moſt ſenſible affliction. "Alas!" ſaid they, when they compared paſt times with thoſe they then ſaw, "the gods, amidſt our greateſt adverſities, would formerly manifeſt themſelves our favour during this ſacred cere-"monial, by myſtic viſions and audible voices, to the great "aſtoniſhment of our enemies, who were terrified by them. "But now, when we are even celebrating the ſame ſolemnities, "they caſt an unpitying eye on the greateſt calamities that "can happen to Greece: They behold the moſt ſacred of all "days in the year, and that which is moſt agreeable to us, "polluted and diſtinguiſhed by the moſt dreadful of calami-"ties, which will even tranſmit its name to this ſacred time "through all ſucceeding generations."

The garriſon, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the leaſt injury to any of the inhabitants; but there were more than twelve thouſand of them excluded from employments in the ſtate, by one of the ſtipulations in the treaty, in conſequence of their poverty. Some of theſe unfortunate perſons continued in Athens, and lingered out a wretched life, amidſt the contemptuous treatment they had juſtly drawn upon themſelves; for the generality of them were ſeditious and mercenary in their diſpoſitions; had neither virtue nor juſtice; but

flattered themſelves with a falſe idea of liberty, which they were incapable of uſing aright; and had no knowledge of either its bounds, duties, or end. The other poor citizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater aſſigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

[m] Demetrius Phalereus was obliged to have recourſe to flight, and retired to Nicanor; but Caſſander, the ſon of Antipater, repoſed much confidence in him, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately. This Demetrius had been not only the diſciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophraſtus; and, under the conduct of ſo learned a maſter, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered himſelf expert in philoſophy, politics, and hiſtory. [n] He was in great eſteem at Athens, and began to enter upon the adminiſtration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there, after he had declared againſt Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city at the time we have mentioned, and was ſoon after condemned there, though abſent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.

[o] The whole weight of Antipater's diſpleaſure fell chiefly upon Demoſthenes, Hyperides, and ſome other Athenians, who had been their adherents: And when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he diſpatched a body of men with orders to ſeize them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Ægina, the orator Hyperides, Ariſtonicus of Marathon, and Hymereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken ſanctuary in the temple of Ajax; he dragged them from their aſylum, and ſent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleones, where he condemned them to die. Some authors have even declared, that he cauſed the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.

The ſame Archias having received intelligence, that Demoſthenes, who had retired into the iſland of Calauria, was

m Athen. l. xii. p. 542.
n Diog. in Laert. in Demetr.
o Plut. in Demoſt. p. 859, 860.

become a ſupplicant in the temple of Neptune, he ſailed thither in a ſmall veſſel, and landed with ſome Thracian ſoldiers: After which he ſpared no pains to perſuade Demoſthenes to accompany him to Antipater, aſſuring him, that he ſhould receive no injury. Demoſthenes was to well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promiſes; and was ſenſible that venal ſouls, who have hired themſelves into the ſervice of iniquity, thoſe infamous miniſters in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjuſt, have as little regard to ſincerity and truth as their maſters. To prevent therefore his falling into the hands of a tyrant, who would have ſatiated his fury upon him, he ſwallowed poiſon, which he always carried about him, and which ſoon produced its effect. When he found his ſtrength declining, he advanced a few ſteps, by the aid of ſome domeſtics who ſupported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, ſoon after this event, erected a ſtatue of braſs to his memory, as a teſtimonial of their gratitude and eſteem, and made a decree, that the eldeſt branch of his family ſhould be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the public expence, from generation to generation: And at the foot of the ſtatue they engraved this inſcription, which was couched in two Elegiac verſes: "Demoſthenes, if thy power had been "equal to thy wiſdom, the Macedonian Mars would never "have triumphed over Greece." What regard is to be entertained for the judgment of a people, who were capable of being hurried into ſuch oppoſite extremes, and who one day paſſed ſentence of death on a citizen, and loaded him with honours and applauſe the next?

What I have already ſaid of Demoſthenes, on ſeveral occaſions, makes it unneceſſary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator, but an accompliſhed ſtateſman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal was not to be intimidated by any conjunctures, wherein the honour and intereſt of his country were concerned; he firmly retained an irreconcileable averſion to all meaſures which had any reſemblance to tyranny, and his love for liber-

ty was ſuch as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all ſervitude and dependancy as ever lived. A wonderful ſagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into future events, and preſented them to his view with as much perſpicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually preſent. He ſeemed as much acquainted with all the deſigns of Philip, as if he had been admitted into a participation of his counſels; and if the Athenians had followed his counſels, that prince would not have attained that height of power, which proved deſtructive to Greece, as Demoſthenes had frequently foretold.

[P] He was perfectly acquainted with the diſpoſition of Philip, and was very far from praiſing him, like the generality of orators. Two colleagues, with whom he was aſſociated in an embaſſy to that prince, were continually praiſing the king of Macedonia, at their return, and ſaying, that he was a very eloquent and amiable prince, and a moſt extraordinary drinker. "What ſtrange commendations are theſe?" replied Demoſthenes. "The firſt is the accompliſhment of a rhetorician; the "ſecond of a woman; and the third of a ſponge; but none "of them the praiſe of a king."

With relation to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has obſerved, in the parallel he has drawn between Demoſthenes and Cicero. After he has ſhewn, that the great an eſſential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference obſervable between them with reſpect to ſtyle and elocution. "The one *," ſays he, "is more preciſe, the other more luxuriant. The one crouds "all his forces into a ſmaller compaſs when he attacks his ad-"verſary, the other chooſes a larger field for the aſſault. The "one always endeavours in a manner to tranſfix him with the "vivacity of his ſtyle, the other frequently overwhelms him "with the weight of his diſcourſe. Nothing can be retrench-

[P] Plut. in Demoſt. p. 853.

* In eloquendo eſt aliqua diverſitas. Denſior ille, hic copioſior. Ille concludit aſtrictius, hic latius pugnat. Ille acumine ſemper, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi poteſt, huic nihil adjici. Curae plus in illo, in hoc naturae. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

" ed from the one, and nothing can be added to the other. In " Demoſthenes we diſcover more labour and ſtudy, in Cicero " more nature and genius."

[9] I have elſewhere obſerved another difference between theſe two great orators, which I beg leave to inſert in this place. That which characterizes Demoſthenes more than any other circumſtance, and in which he has never been imitated, is ſuch an abſolute oblivion of himſelf, and ſo ſcrupulous and conſtant a ſolicitude to ſuppreſs all oſtentation of wit: in a word, ſuch a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cauſe, and not to the orator, that he never ſuffers any one turn of thought or expreſſion to eſcape him, from no other view than merely to pleaſe and ſhine. This reſerve and moderation in ſo amiable a genius as Demoſthenes, and in matters ſo ſuſceptible of grace and eloquence, adds perfection to his merit, and renders him ſuperior to all praiſes.

Cicero was ſenſible of all the eſtimation due to the eloquence of Demoſthenes, and experienced all its force and beauty. But as he was perſuaded, that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not ſtrictly eſſential, ought to form his ſtyle by the taſte of his audience; and did not believe, that the genius of his times was conſiſtent with ſuch a rigid exactneſs: He therefore judged it neceſſary to accommodate himſelf in ſome meaſure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace and elegance in his diſcourſe. For which reaſon he had ſome regard to the agreeable, but, at the ſame time, never loſt ſight of any important point in the cauſe he pleaded. He even thought that this qualified him for promoting the intereſt of his country; and was not miſtaken, as to pleaſe is one of the moſt certain means of perſuading: But at the ſame time he laboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himſelf.

The death of Demoſthenes and Hyperides cauſed the Athenians to regret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generoſity, and clemency, which thoſe two princes retained, even amidſt the emotions of their diſpleaſure; and how inclinable they had

[9] In the diſcourſe on the eloquence of the bar.

always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the maſk of a private man in a bad cloak, with all the appearances of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, diſcovered himſelf to be a rigid and imperious maſter.

Antipater was, however, prevailed upon, by the prayers of Phocion, to recal ſeveral perſons from baniſhment, notwithſtanding all the ſeverity of his diſpoſition; and there is reaſon to believe that Demetrius was one of this number. At leaſt, it is certain that he had a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration of the republic from that time. As for thoſe whoſe recall to Athens Phocion was unable to obtain, he procured for them more commodious ſituations, that were not ſo remote as their former ſettlements; and took his meaſures ſo effectually, that they were not baniſhed, according to the firſt ſentence, beyond the Ceraunian mountains, and the promontory of Tenarus; by which means they did not live ſequeſtered from the pleaſures of Greece, but obtained a ſettlement in Peloponneſus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous diſpoſition of Phocion, who employed his credit with Antipater, in order to procure a ſet of unfortunate perſons ſome alleviation of their calamities; and, on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by that quality, but was ſenſible, however, that it would be extremely rigid in him to add new mortifications to the inconveniencies of baniſhment.

Antipater, in other reſpects, exerciſed his government with great juſtice and moderation, over thoſe who continued in Athens; he beſtowed the principal poſts and employments on ſuch perſons as he imagined were the moſt virtuous and honeſt men; and contented himſelf with removing from all authority ſuch as he thought were moſt likely to excite troubles. He was ſenſible, that this people could neither ſupport a ſtate of abſolute ſervitude, nor the enjoyment of entire liberty; for which reaſon he thought it neceſſary to take from the one whatever was too rigid, and from the other all that it had of exceſſive and licentious.

The conqueror, after so glorious a campaign, set out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus; and the solemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the most accomplished princesses of her age: And her beauty was the least part of her merit. The lustre of her charms was heightened by the sweetness and modesty that softened her aspect, by an air of complacency, and a natural disposition to oblige, which won the hearts of all who beheld her. These engaging qualities were rendered still more amiable by the brightness of a superior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her sex, which made her capable of the greatest affairs. It is even said, that as young as she then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the most able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without consulting her. This princess never made use of the influence she had over her two husbands; for after the death of Craterus, she espoused Demetrius the son of Antigonus, but to procure some favour for the officers, their daughters, or sisters. If they were poor, she furnished them with portions for their marriage; and if they were so unhappy as to be calumniated, she herself was very active in their justification. So generous a liberality gave her an absolute power among the troops. All cabals were dissolved by her presence; and all revolts gave way, and were appeased by her conduct.

SECTION III.

Procession of Alexander's Funeral. Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, confederate against each other.

Much about this time[r] the * funeral obsequies of Alexander were performed. Aridæus having been deputed by all the

[r] A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Diod. l. xviii. p. 608—610.

* I could have wished it had been in my power to have explained several passages of this description in a more clear and intelligible manner than I have done; but that was not possible for me to effect, though I had recourse to persons of greater capacity than myself.

governors and grandees of the kingdom, to take upon himſelf the care of that ſolemnity, had employed two years in preparing every thing that could poſſibly render it the moſt pompous and auguſt funeral that had ever been ſeen. When all things were ready for the celebration of this mournful but ſuperb ceremonial, orders were given for the proceſſion to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whoſe office was to make all the ways practicable through which the proceſſion was to paſs.

As ſoon as theſe were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and deſign of which raiſed as much admiration as the immenſe riches that glittered all over it, ſet out from Babylon. The body of the chariot reſted upon two axle-trees, that were inſerted into four wheels, made after the Perſian manner; the naves and ſpokes of which were covered with gold, and the rounds plated over with iron. The extremities of the axle-trees were made of gold, repreſenting the muſcles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had four draught beams, or poles, to each of which were harnaſſed four ſets of mules, each ſet conſiſting of four of thoſe animals; ſo that this chariot was drawn by ſixty-four mules. The ſtrongeſt of thoſe creatures, and the largeſt, were choſen on this occaſion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious ſtones and golden bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide, and eighteen in length, ſupported by columns of the Ionic order, embelliſhed with the leaves of acanthus. The inſide was adorned with a blaze of jewels, diſpoſed in the form of ſhells. The circumference was beautified with a fringe of golden net-work; the threads that compoſed the texture were an inch in thickneſs; and to thoſe were faſtened large bells, whoſe ſound was heard to a great diſtance.

The external decorations were diſpoſed into four relievos.

The firſt repreſented Alexander ſeated in a military chariot, with a ſplendid ſceptre in his hand, and ſurrounded, on one ſide, with a troop of Macedonians in arms; and on the other,

with an equal number of Perſians armed in their manner. Theſe were preceded by the king's equerries.

In the ſecond were ſeen elephants completely harnaſſed, with a band of Indians ſeated on the fore part of their bodies; and on the hinder, another band of Macedonians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe ranged in military array.

The fourth repreſented ſhips preparing for a battle.

At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions, that ſeemed to guard the paſſage.

The four corners were adorned with ſtatues of gold, repreſenting victories, with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold of a ſquare form, adorned with the heads of animals *, whoſe necks were encompaſſed with golden circles a foot and a half in breadth; to theſe were hung crowns that glittered with the livelieſt colours, and ſuch as were carried in proceſſion at the celebration of ſacred ſolemnities.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromatic ſpices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preſervation of the corpſe. A pall of purple wrought with gold covered the coffin.

Between this and the throne the arms of that monarch were diſpoſed in the manner he wore them while living.

The outſide of the pavilion was likewiſe covered with purple flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the ſame metal, which ſeemed to be a compoſition of olive branches. The rays of the ſun which darted on this diadem, in conjunction with the motion of the chariot, cauſed it to emit a kind of rays like thoſe of lightning.

It may eaſily be imagined, that in ſo long a proceſſion, the motion of a chariot, loaded like this, would be liable to great inconveniences. I in order, therefore, that the pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any un-

* The Greek word τραγέλαφος, imports a kind of hart, from whoſe chin a beard hangs down like that of goats.

even ways, conſtantly continue in the ſame ſituation, notwithſtanding the inequality of the ground, and the ſhocks that would frequently be unavoidable, a cylinder was raiſed from the middle of each axle-tree, to ſupport the pavilion; by which expedient the whole machine was preſerved ſteady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in arms, and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of ſpectators of this ſolemnity is hardly credible; but they were drawn together as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander ſhould be interred would be rendered the moſt happy and flouriſhing part of the whole earth. The governors conteſted with each other, for the diſpoſal of a body that was to be attended with ſuch a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him deſirous, that the corpſe ſhould be conveyed to Aege in Macedonia, where the remains of its kings were uſually depoſited. Other places were likewiſe propoſed; but the preference was given to Egypt. Ptolemy, who had ſuch extraordinary and recent obligations to the king of Macedonia, was determined to ſignalize his gratitude on this occaſion. He accordingly ſet out with a numerous guard of his beſt troops, in order to meet the proceſſion, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corpſe in the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, as they had propoſed. It was therefore depoſited, firſt in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raiſed a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were uſually paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity.

[y] Freinſhemius, in his ſupplement to Livy, relates, after Leo the African *, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was ſtill to be ſeen in his time, and that it was reverenced by the

y Lib. cxxxiii.

* This author lived in the 15th century.

Mohammedans, as the monument, not only of an illuſtrious king, but of a great prophet.

[m] Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which border on the Pontic ſea, were allotted to Eumenes, in conſequence of the partition of the ſeveral governments of Alexander's empire; and it was expreſsly ſtipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus ſhould march with a great body of troops to eſtabliſh Eumenes in the government of thoſe dominions, and diſpoſſeſs king Ariarathes of the ſovereignty. This general reſolution of ſending troops and experienced commanders into the ſeveral provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgment; and the intention of it was, that all thoſe conquered territories ſhould continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own ſovereigns, ſhould have no future inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to ſet each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks.

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very ſolicitous to execute this article of the treaty; and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular intereſt and aggrandizement, they took other meaſures. Eumenes, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned by thoſe who ought to have eſtabliſhed him in his government, ſet out with all his equipage, which conſiſted of three hundred horſe and two hundred of his domeſtics, well armed; with all his riches, which amounted to about five thouſand talents of gold; and retired to Perdiccas, who gave him a favourable reception. As he was much eſteemed by that commander, he was admitted into a participation of all his counſels. Eumenes was indeed a man of great ſolidity and reſolution, and the moſt able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a ſhort time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army, which Perdiccas thought fit to command in perſon. Ariarathes had made the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raiſed twenty thouſand foot and a great body of horſe: But he was defeated and taken

[m] Plut. in Eumen. p. 584. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.

priſoner by Perdiccas, who deſtroyed his whole family, and inveſted Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this inſtance of ſeverity, to intimidate the people, and extinguiſh all ſeditions. And this conduct was very judicious, and abſolutely neceſſary in the conjuncture of a new government, when the ſtate is in a general ferment, and all things are uſually diſpoſed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this tranſaction, advanced with his troops to chaſtiſe Iſaura and Laranda, cities of Piſidia, which had maſſacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians. The laſt of theſe cities was deſtroyed in a very ſurpriſing manner: For the inhabitants finding themſelves in no condition to defend it, and deſpairing of any quarter from the conqueror, ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, with their wives, children and parents, and all their gold and ſilver, ſet fire to their ſeveral habitations; and, after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themſelves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder; and the ſoldiers, after they had extinguiſhed the fire, found a very great booty, for the place was filled with riches.

[u] Perdiccas, after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he paſſed the winter ſeaſon. During his reſidence in that country, he formed the reſolution to divorce Nicea, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had eſpouſed at a time when he thought that marriage ſubſervient to his intereſt. But when the regency of the empire had given him a ſuperior credit, and given birth to more exalted hopes, his thoughts took a different turn, and he was deſirous of eſpouſing Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander king of Epirus; and, having loſt her huſband in the wars of Italy, ſhe had continued in a ſtate of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas diſpatched Eumenes thither, to propoſe his marriage to that princeſs, and employ his endeavours to render it agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady, who was the ſiſter of Alexander by the ſame father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour

[u] A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Diod. p. 606—609.

of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra.

Antigonus penetrated into his design, and evidently foresaw that his own destruction was to be the foundation of the intended success. He therefore passed into Greece with the greatest expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged in a war with the Ætolians, and disclosed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence they immediately came to an accommodation with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Hellespont, to observe the motions of the new enemy; and, in order to strengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their interest.

Craterus, one of the greatest of Alexander's captains, had the largest share of the affection and esteem of the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the ten thousand veteran troops he intended to send thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities, which rendered them incapable of the service. The king had likewise conferred upon him at the same time the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he recalled to Babylon. These provinces having been consigned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them in concert; and Craterus always conducted himself like a good and faithful associate; especially in the operations of this war, in which they were unavoidably engaged by the discovery of the designs Perdiccas was forming.

Perdiccas sent Eumenes back to his province, not only to regulate the state of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus his next neighbour, who was governor of Armenia, and whose conduct was suspected by Perdiccas, but not without sufficient reason, as will be evident in the sequel.

[x] This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his stupid pride, and the insupportable arrogance he had contracted, from

[x] Plut. in Eumen. p. 585.

the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to reduce him to reaſon by gentle meaſures; and when he ſaw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very inſolent and audacious, he made it his care to aſſemble a body of horſe ſtrong enough to oppoſe their deſigns, and keep them within the bounds of reſpect and obedience. With this view he granted all ſorts of immunities and exemptions from impoſts to thoſe of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horſeback. He likewiſe purchaſed a great number of horſes, and beſtowed them on thoſe of his court in whom he confided the moſt; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He diſciplined and habituated them to labour and fatigue by reviews, exerciſes, and continual movements. Every body was ſurpriſed to ſee him aſſemble, in ſo ſhort a time, a body of ſix thouſand horſe, capable of good ſervice in the field.

Perdiccas, having cauſed all his troops to file off the next ſpring towards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The ſubject of their deliberations was, whether they ſhould march firſt into Macedonia againſt Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt againſt Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the laſt; and it was concluded, at the ſame time, that Eumenes, with part of the army, ſhould guard the Aſiatic provinces againſt Antipater and Craterus: And, in order to engage him more effectually to eſpouſe the common cauſe, Perdiccas added the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewiſe declared him generaliſſimo of all the troops in Cappadocia and Armenia, and ordered all the governors to obey him. Perdiccas, after this, advanced towards Egypt through Damaſcene and Paleſtine. He alſo took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his deſigns with the royal authority.

[y] Eumenes ſpared no pains to have a good army on foot, in order to oppoſe Antipater and Craterus, who had already paſſ-

[y] Plut. in Eumen. p. 585—587. Diod. l. xviii. p. 610—613.

ed the Helleſpont, and were marching againſt him. They left nothing unattempted to diſengage him from the party he had eſpouſed, and promiſed him the addition of new provinces to thoſe he already poſſeſſed: But he was too ſteady * to be ſhaken by thoſe offers, in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas. They ſucceeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus; for they engaged the former to obſerve a neutrality, though the brother of Perdiccas; and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and defeated the latter at a narrow paſs, and even took all his baggage. This victory was owing to his cavalry, whom he had formed with ſo much care. Neoptolemus ſaved himſelf with three hundred horſe, and joined Antipater and Craterus; but the reſt of his troops went over to Eumenes.

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to aſſiſt Ptolemy, if his affairs ſhould require his aid; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the reſt of his army againſt Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the ſucceſs of which was entirely to be aſcribed to the wiſe and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch juſtly conſiders as the maſter-piece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the generality of the Macedonians were deſirous of him for their leader after the death of Alexander, remembering that his affection for them, and his deſire to ſupport their intereſt, had cauſed him to incur the diſpleaſure of that prince. Neoptolemus had flattered him, that as ſoon as he ſhould appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the oppoſite party would liſt themſelves under his banners; and Eumenes himſelf was very apprehenſive of that event. But, in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occaſioned his inevitable ruin, he cauſed the avenues and narrow paſſes to be ſo carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy againſt whom he was leading them, having cauſed a report to

* Quem (Perdiccam) etſi infirmum videbat, quod unus omnibus reſiſtere cogebatur, amicum non deſeruit, neque ſalutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 3.

be ſpread, that it was only Neoptolemus who was preparing to attack him a ſecond time. In the diſpoſitions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppoſe any Macedonian againſt Craterus; and iſſued an order, with very ſevere penalties, that no herald from the enemy ſhould be received on any account whatever.

The firſt charge was very rude; the lances were ſoon ſhivered on both ſides, and the two armies attacked ſword in hand. Craterus acted nothing to the diſhonour of Alexander on this laſt day of his life; for he killed ſeveral of the enemies with his own hand, and frequently bore down all who oppoſed him; till at laſt a Thracian wounded him in the flank, when he fell from his horſe. All the enemy's cavalry rode over him without knowing who he was, and did not diſcover him till he was breathing his laſt.

As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who perſonally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horſes charging with a violent ſhock, they ſeized each other; and their horſes ſpringing from under them, they both fell on the earth, where they ſtruggled like two implacable wreſtlers, and fought for a conſiderable time with the utmoſt fury and rage, till at laſt Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and immediately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horſe, and puſhed his left wing to that part of the field, where he believed the enemy's troops ſtill continued unbroken. There, when he was informed that Craterus was killed, he ſpurred his horſe to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. When he beheld this melancholy ſpectacle, he could not refuſe his tears to the death of an ancient friend whom he had always eſteemed; and he cauſed the laſt honours to be paid him with all poſſible magnificence. He likewiſe ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this ſecond victory ten days after the firſt.

[z] In the mean time Perdiccas had advanced into Egypt, and

[z] Diod. l. xviii. p. 613—616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 587. Cor. Nep. c. 5.

began the war with Ptolemy, though with very different ſucceſs. Ptolemy, from the time he was conſtituted governor of that country, had conducted himſelf with ſo much juſtice and humanity, that he had entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of ſo wiſe an adminiſtration, came thither from Greece and other parts to enter into his ſervice. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful; and even the army of Perdiccas had ſo much eſteem for Ptelemy, that they marched with reluctance againſt him, and great numbers of them deſerted daily to his troops. All theſe circumſtances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he loſt his own life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a reſolution to make his army paſs an arm of the Nile, which formed an iſland near Memphis, in paſſing he loſt two thouſand men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exaſperated to ſuch a degree of fury, when they ſaw themſelves expoſed to ſuch unneceſſary dangers, that they mutinied againſt him; in conſequence of which, he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, of whom Pithon was the moſt conſiderable, and was aſſaſſinated in his tent with moſt of his intimate friends.

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes; and had this account come two days ſooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and conſequently the revolution that ſoon ſucceeded it, which proved ſo favourable to Ptolemy and Antipater, and all their adherents.

SECTION IV.

REGENCY tranſferred to ANTIPATER, POLYSPERCHON ſucceeds him. The latter recals OLYMPIAS.

PTOLEMY paſſed the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas[a], and entered the Macedonian camp; where he juſtified

[a] Diod. l. xviii. p. 616—619.

his own conduct ſo effectually, that all the troops declared in his favour. When the death of Craterus was known, he made ſuch an artful improvement of their affliction and reſentment, that he induced them to paſs a decree, whereby Eumenes, and fifty other perſons of the ſame party, were declared enemies to the Macedonian ſtate; and this decree authoriſed Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war againſt them. But when this prince perceived the troops had a general inclination to offer him the regency of the two kings, which became vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, becauſe he was very ſenſible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of ſuſtaining the weight of that vaſt empire, nor be in a condition to reunite, under their authority, ſo many governments acuſtomed to independency; that there was an inevitable tendency to diſmember the whole, as well from the inclinations and intereſt of the officers, as the ſituation of affairs; that all his acquiſitions in the interim, would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to poſſeſs the firſt rank, he ſhould in reality enjoy nothing fixed and ſolid, or that could any way be conſidered as his own property; that, upon the expiration of the regency, he ſhould be left without any government or real eſtabliſhment; and that he ſhould neither be maſter of an army to ſupport him, nor of any retreat for his preſervation: Whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richeſt provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conqueſts. Theſe conſiderations induced him to prefer the poſt he already enjoyed, to the new title that was offered him, as the former was leſs hazardous, and rendered him leſs obnoxious to envy: He therefore cauſed the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridaeus.

The firſt of theſe perſons had commanded with diſtinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas, till he was a witneſs of his imprudent conduct in paſſing the Nile, which induced him to quit his ſervice, and go over to Ptolemy.

With reſpect to Aridaeus, hiſtory has taken no notice of him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral ſolem-

nities of that prince were committed to his care; and we have already ſeen in what manner he acquitted himſelf of that melancholy but honourable commiſſion, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianſhip was of no long continuance to them. Eurydice, the conſort of king Aridæus, whom we ſhall diſtinguiſh for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being ſupported in her pretenſions by the Macedonians; the two regents were ſo diſſatisfied with their employment, that they voluntarily reſigned it, after they had ſent the army back to Triparadis in Syria; and it was then conferred upon Antipater.

As ſoon as he was inveſted with his authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all thoſe who had eſpouſed the intereſt of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-eſtabliſhed every perſon of the other party, who had been diſpoſſeſſed. In this new diviſion of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterwards the moſt powerful of all the ſucceſſors of Alexander. Pithon had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, ſupported himſelf in one part of the country, and aſſumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians: And this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, ſent Antigonus againſt Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia; but left his ſon Caſſander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, and with orders to be near the perſon of Antigonus, that he might the better be informed of his deſigns.

[b] Jaddus, the high-prieſt of the Jews, died this year, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Onias, whoſe pontificate continued for the ſpace of twenty-one years. I make this remark, becauſe the hiſtory of the Jews will, in the ſequel of this work, be very much intermixed with that of Alexander's ſucceſſors.

[b] A M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8.

[c] Antigonus appeared early in the field againſt Eumenes; and a battle was fought at Orcynium in Cappadocia, wherein Eumenes was defeated, and loſt eight thouſand men by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal officers of his cavalry, who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midſt of the battle. [d] The traitor was ſoon puniſhed for his perfidy, for Eumenes took him, and cauſed him to be hanged upon the ſpot.

[e] A conjuncture, which happened ſoon after this defeat, would have enabled Eumenes to ſeize the baggage of Antigonus and all his riches, with a great number of priſoners; and his little troop already caſt an eager eye on ſo conſiderable a booty. But whether his apprehenſions that ſo rich a prey would enervate the heart of his ſoldiers, who were then conſtrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard to Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendſhip, prevented him from improving this oportunity, it is certain that he ſent a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a feint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of better ſecurity.

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged, for his preſervation, to employ moſt of his time in changing the place of his retreat; and he was daily admired for the tranquillity and ſteadineſs of mind he diſcovered, in the wandering life to which he was reduced: For, as Plutarch obſerves, adverſity alone can place greatneſs of ſoul in its full point of light, and render the real merit of mankind conſpicuous; whereas proſperity frequently caſts a veil of falſe grandeur over real meanneſs and imperfections. Eumenes, having at laſt diſbanded moſt of his remaining troops, ſhut himſelf up, with five hundred men, who were determined to ſhare his fate, in the caſtle of Nora, a place of extraordinary ſtrength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he ſuſtained a ſiege of twelve months.

[c] A. M. 3684. Ant. J. C. 320, Diod. l. xviii. p. 618, 619.
[d] Plut. in Eumen. p. 588—590. [e] Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 5.

He was ſoon ſenſible, that nothing incommoded his garriſon ſo much as the ſmall ſpace they poſſeſſed, being ſhut up in little cloſe houſes, and on a tract of ground, whoſe whole circuit did not exceed two hundred fathoms, where they could neither walk nor perform the leaſt exerciſe; and where their horſes, having ſcarce any room for motion, became ſluggiſh, and incapable of ſervice. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourſe to the following expedient. He converted the largeſt houſe in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exerciſe. This he conſigned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at firſt; they were afterwards to double their pace by degrees, and at laſt were to exert the moſt vigorous motions. He then took the following method for the horſes. He ſuſpended them, one after another, in ſtrong ſlings, which were diſpoſed under their breaſts, and from thence inſerted into rings faſtened to the roofs of the ſtable; after which he cauſed them to be raiſed into the air by the aid of pullies, and in ſuch a manner, that only their hinder feet reſted on the ground, while the extreme parts of the hoofs of their fore feet could hardly touch it. In this condition, the grooms laſhed them ſeverely with their whips, which tormented the horſes to ſuch a degree, and forced them into ſuch violent agitations, that their bodies were all covered with ſweat and foam. After this exerciſe, which was finely calculated to ſtrengthen and keep them in wind, and likewiſe to render their limbs ſupple and pliant, their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the ſooner, and with leſs difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to every thing about him, and are ſeen in the minuteſt particulars.

[f] The ſiege, or, more properly, the blockade of Nora, did not prevent Antigonus from undertaking a new expedition into Piſidia, againſt Alcetas and Attalus; the laſt of whom was taken priſoner in a battle, and the other ſlain by treachery in the place to which he retired.

[f] A. M. 3685. Ant. J. C. 319.

[g] During theſe tranſactions in Aſia, Ptolemy ſeeing of what importance Syria, Phoenicia, and Judaea were, as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper diſpoſitions on that ſide for the invaſion of Cyprus, which he had then in view, determined to make himſelf maſter of thoſe provinces which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he ſent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land-forces, while he himſelf ſet out with a fleet to attack the coaſts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon, and took him priſoner; in conſequence of which he ſoon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had the ſame advantages on the coaſts; by which means he became abſolute maſter of thoſe provinces. The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of theſe conqueſts; but Antipater was at too great a diſtance, being then in Macedonia; and Antigonus was too much employed againſt Eumenes, to oppoſe theſe great acceſſions to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealouſy

[h] After the defeat of Laomedon, the Jews were the only people who made any reſiſtance. They were duly ſenſible of the obligation they were under, by the oath they had taken to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judaea, and formed the ſiege of Jeruſalem. This city was ſo ſtrong by its advantageous ſituation, in conjunction with the works of art, that it would have ſuſtained a long ſiege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, by which they were prohibited to defend themſelves on the Sabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular; and, in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he choſe that day for the general aſſault: and as no individual among the Jews would preſume to defend himſelf, the city was taken without any difficulty.

Ptolemy at firſt treated Jeruſalem and Judaea with great ſeverity, for he carried above an hundred thouſand of the inhabitants captives into Egypt; but when he afterwards conſider-

g Diod. p. 621, 622.
h Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1.

ed the ſteadineſs with which they had perſiſted in the fidelity they had ſworn to their governors, on this and a variety of other occaſions, he was convinced that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence; and he accordingly choſe thirty thouſand of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them, who were moſt capable of ſerving him, and appointed them to guard the more important places in his dominions.

[i] Much about this time Antipater fell ſick in Macedonia. The Athenians were greatly diſſatisfied with the garriſon he had left in their city, and had frequently preſſed Phocion to go to the court of that prince, and ſolicit him to recall thoſe troops: But he always declined that commiſſion, either through a deſpair of ſucceeding, or elſe becauſe he was conſcious, that the fear of this garriſon was the beſt expedient for keeping them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not ſo difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commiſſion with pleaſure, and immediately ſet out with his ſon for Macedonia. But his arival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himſelf. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was ſeized with a ſevere illneſs; and his ſon Caſſander, who was abſolute maſter of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Aſia, preſſing him to come as ſoon as poſſible, and make himſelf maſter of Greece and Macedonia; "which," as he expreſſed himſelf, "were held together only by a thread, and "even an old rotten thread," ridiculing Antipater by thoſe expreſſions. As ſoon as Caſſander ſaw them appear at court, he cauſed them both to be arreſted; and he himſelf ſeizing the ſon firſt, ſtabbed him before the face of his father, and at ſo little diſtance from him, that he was covered with his blood. After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude, and when he had loaded him with inſults, he alſo killed him with his own hands on the dead body of his ſon. It was impoſſible that ſuch a barbarous proceeding ſhould not be deteſted; but mankind are not much diſpoſed to pity ſuch a wretch as Demades, who had dictated the decree by which Demoſthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die.

i Diod. l. xviii. p. 625, 626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

The diſpoſition of Antipater proved fatal to him; and his laſt attention was employed in filling up the two great ſtations which he enjoyed. His ſon Caſſander was very deſirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithſtanding which, Antipater beſtowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polyſperchon, the moſt ancient of all the ſurviving captains of Alexander, and thought it ſufficient to aſſociate Caſſander with him in thoſe employments.

I am at a loſs to determine, whether any inſtance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be admired than this which I have now related in few words; nothing certainly could be more extraordinary, and hiſtory affords us few inſtances of the ſame nature. It was neceſſary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of thoſe ſtations, was perſuaded that his own glory and reputation, and what was ſtill more prevalent with him, the intereſt of the ſtate, and the preſervation of the Macedonian monarchy obliged him to nominate a man of authority, and one reſpected for his age, experience, and paſt ſervices. He had a ſon who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult therefore, but at the ſame time how amiable and glorious was it to ſelect, on ſuch an occaſion, no man but the moſt deſerving, and beſt qualified to ſerve the public effectually; to extinguiſh the voice of nature; turn a deaf ear to all her remonſtrances, and not ſuffer the judgment to be ſeduced by the impreſſions of paternal affection; in a word, to continue ſo much maſter of one's penetration, as to render juſtice to the merit of a ſtranger, and openly prefer it to that of a ſon, and ſacrifice all the intereſt of one's own family to the public welfare! Hiſtory has tranſmitted to us an expreſſion of the emperor Galba, which will do honour to his memory throughout all ages. "Auguſtus*," ſaid he, "choſe "a ſucceſſor out of his own family; and I one from the whole "empire."

Caſſander was extremely enraged at the affront, which, as

* Auguſtus in domo ſucceſſorem quaeſivit: ego in republica. Tacit. hiſt. l. i. c. 15.

he pretended, had been offered him by this choice; and thought in that reſpect, like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon the employments they poſſeſs as hereditary, and with this flattering perſuaſion, that the ſtate is of no conſequence in compariſon with themſelves: Never examining what is requiſite to the poſts they enjoy, or whether they have competent abilities to ſuſtain them, and conſidering only whether thoſe poſts are agreeable to their fortune. Caſſander, not being able to digeſt his father's preferring a ſtranger before him, endeavoured to form a party againſt the new regent. He alſo ſecured to himſelf all the places he could in the government of that officer, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and propoſed nothing leſs than to diveſt him of the whole.

[k] To this effect, he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus in his party; and they readily eſpouſed it with the ſame views, and from the ſame motives. It was equally their intereſt to deſtroy this new regent, as well as the regency itſelf, which always kept them in apprehenſions, and reminded them of their ſtate of dependency. They likewiſe imagined, that it ſecretly reproached them for aſpiring at ſovereignty, while it cheriſhed the rights of the two pupils; and left the governors in a ſituation of uncertainty, in conſequence of which they were perpetually in fear of being diveſted of their power. Both the one and the other believed it would be eaſy for them to ſucceed in their deſigns, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the moſt powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was abſolute in all the provinces of Aſia Minor, in conjunction with the title of generaliſſimo, and an army of ſeventy thouſand men, and thirty elephants, which no power in the empire was at that time capable of reſiſting. It cannot therefore be thought ſurpriſing, that this ſuperiority ſhould inſpire him with the deſign of engroſſing the whole monarchy of the Macedonians; and, in order to ſucceed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the

k Diod. p. 630.

provinces within his jurisdiction, displacing all those persons whom he suspected, and substituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this scheme, he removed Aridaeus from the government of Lesser Phrygia, and the Hellespont, and Clytus from that of Lydia.

[l] Polysperchon neglected nothing on his part, that was necessary to strengthen his interest; and thought it advisable to recal Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of sharing his authority with her. This princess dispatched a courier to Eumenes, to consult him on the proposal she had received; and he advised her to wait some time, in order to see what turn affairs would take; adding, that if she determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries she thought she had received; that it also would be her interest to govern with moderation, and to make others sensible of her authority by benefactions, and not by severity. As to all other particulars, he promised an inviolable attachment to herself and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to these judicious counsels in any respect, but set out as soon as possible for Macedonia; where, upon her arrival, she consulted nothing but her passions, and her insatiable desire of dominion and revenge.

Polysperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands, endeavoured to secure Greece, of which he foresaw Cassander would attempt to make himself master. He also took measures with relation to other parts of the empire, as will appear by the sequel.

[m] In order to engage the Greeks in his interest, he issued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and reinstated all the cities in their ancient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular by letters, that the king had re-established their democracy and ancient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted without distinction into public offices. This was a strain of policy calculated to ensnare Phocion; for Polysperchon intending to make himself master of

[l] Diod. l. xviii. p. 626, 634. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. 6.
[m] Diod. p. 631, 632.

Athens, as was evident in a ſhort time: he deſpaired of ſucceeding in that deſign, unleſs he could find ſome expedient to procure the baniſhment of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater; and he was therefore certain of accompliſhing this ſcheme, as ſoon as thoſe who had been excluded from the government ſhould be reinſtated in their ancient rights.

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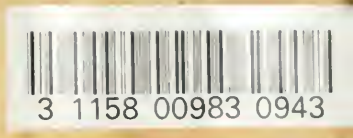
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